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SYMBOLS AND DOUBLE NAMES ON LATE SAXON COINS.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

TUDENTS of Saxon coins will have noticed that, besides what might be called the major varieties connected with the designs of our early money, there are numerous minor additions to the types in the form of pellets, annulets, crescents, crosses and other objects. The presence on our coins of these symbols does not appear to have evoked more than a passing reference in our text-books, but it is thought that a consideration of them, on more liberal lines, will be of assistance in the study of our early coinages, and it is proposed in the following remarks to deal with such symbols as appear on the coins of the later Saxon period.

This period commences with the last type of Eadgar, *Hildebrand* C2, issued about A.D. 975, because on that issue were modelled the coinages of all subsequent monarchs in that, from it onwards, the king's bust was invariably represented on the coins¹ and the mint-name inserted in the inscriptions. In restricting the paper to the coins of this period the writer is influenced not only by his interest in it, which prompts an exploration of all the fields of enquiry likely to prove of service to the proper understanding of the coins, but also because, in more ways than one, it lends itself to an elucidation of the subject of the symbols perhaps more fully than is the case in other sections of our early numismatic history.

But first of all it is necessary to separate, so far as is possible, the symbols proper which have no connection with the designs, from the other variations of the main types of the coins. These latter departures

¹ The *Agnus Dei* piece of Æthelred II, *Hildebrand* G, is not strictly a coin, but a commemorative issue. See *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.

may be said to be due, firstly, to modifications of the types, whether under authority for general application, or representing unauthorised changes made by the engravers ; secondly, to errors and omissions of the die-sinkers, and, thirdly, to additions occasioned by the necessity for filling up the vacant spaces in the inscriptions.

In the first category, modifications of the designs, fall the following classes of variation :—

- A. Engraving the busts in an opposite direction to those on the main types. This must not be confused with the incorrect engraving of designs and legends resulting in retrograde impressions, a class of variation which falls under errors of engravers.
- B. The addition of a sceptre where, in the main type, it is absent.
- C. Alterations in the terminals of the sceptres.
- D. Modifications of the busts and their furnishment, especially of the crown.
- E. Modifications of the reverse designs, as, for example, the substitution of the Hand of Providence in Benediction for the ordinary open Hand on one of the types of Æthelred II, or the imposition of trefoils of pellets in the quarters of the reverse on certain coins of Cnut.

In the category of errors and omissions of engravers are placed such variations as :—

- A. Incorrect engraving, resulting in retrograde impressions of whole designs or of separate parts.
- B. Omission of any separate adjuncts which may constitute an integral part of the proper designs of the obverse or of the reverse, such as, for example, the absence of the sceptre where it should ordinarily be present, or of the alpha and omega which form part of the ordinary design of the type of Æthelred II mentioned under the preceding class.

Indeed, it may be said generally that types of which pellets, inner circles, annulets and crescents form a part, constitute a fruitful source of variation through the omission or modification of the objects mentioned.

The third class of variation of design, additions to the inscriptions, is due to defective spacing by the engravers. This is generally made good by curtailment or extension, as the case may be, of the names of the moneyer or of the mint, but often the use of pellets is resorted to, and sometimes a cross, in addition to that in the usual initial position, or an annulet, is inserted to fill a blank space.

On a hasty judgment also we might be misled into thinking that blemishes in the dies and flaws by which lines and objects resembling pellets are introduced on the coins, represent intentional variation. And there is also a further class, namely, defaced money, which does not come into the scope of the present enquiry. I refer to the cuts and chippings so frequently seen on the Anglo-Saxon coins of this period found in Scandinavia, which were no doubt made by the Northmen in order to test, in a rough and ready fashion, the purity of the metal of the coins handed to them in the form of Danegelt or used by them for trading purposes; and of mutilations of the dies, possibly official, such as the defacing bar found on some pennies of Thetford in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

It is also very often difficult to judge whether an addition to the ordinary design of a coin is due to a desire for variation of the type only, or is engraved for an ulterior purpose disconnected from the design. For example, the annulet and the pellet sometimes found in the clouds above, or on the sleeve of, the Hand of Providence on coins of Æthelred II, and the cross, invariably found above the Hand when it appears in Benediction, are certainly intended as a part of the general design of the coin, the pellet on the sleeve, for instance, possibly representing a button, or some fastening of a similar character, but at first sight these marks might be supposed to be symbols not connected with the designs.

Further illustrations of this difficulty are presented in the two following cases, both of which are, as will be seen later, modifications

of the designs and not independent symbols. 1. Addition, on a few coins of Edward the Confessor, of an annulet in the centre of the short voided cross on the reverse of type 8, Major Carlyon-Britton's arrangement,¹ *Hildebrand* H. The normal coins have no objects on the centre of the cross, but the preceding type 7, *Hildebrand* F, invariably has this feature. 2. Addition, on a few coins, of a pellet in the centre of the short voided cross of the reverse of the same type, 8. The next type, 9, *Hildebrand* G, has a similar cross, but the pellet invariably appears as a part of the design. Clearly, therefore, these two modifications of Type 8 of Edward the Confessor are merely an illustration of transition of design.

Another variety of type which might be confused with the symbols proper is that of the addition of three pellets as a fastening or ornament to the mantle on Type 10, *Hildebrand* A, variety *c*, of Edward the Confessor.

To the same category belong a coin of Type 11, *Hildebrand* I, variety *b*, of Edward the Confessor struck at Huntingdon by the moneyer Sæwine, and another of the same type struck by the moneyer Swetman at Southampton. On both coins the pyramid in one angle of the cross on the reverse terminates in three pellets instead of in one.

On the other hand, Hildebrand includes, amongst the varieties in type of Æthelred II, coins bearing four additional crosses in the field of the reverse, which he places as Type A, varieties *c* and *d*. There appears to be no reason for thus specially treating this variation and yet excluding such symbols as four pellets, or even two additional crosses in the field of the reverse. In the writer's opinion all such coins come under the same category, that is to say they bear symbols having a special meaning rather than are variations in type.

Making, however, allowance for every class of modification due to desire or necessity for variation of type, to error, or to bad workmanship, we are left with numerous objects sprinkled all over the obverse and reverse of coins of the period under discussion which must, it is thought, be marks carrying a special significance unconnected with the general

¹ See the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905, p. 179, for the chronological arrangement of the types of Edward the Confessor followed in this paper.

designs and, as a first step to their elucidation, a tabular description of the objects which, in the writer's judgment, come within the limits of the present enquiry, together with lists of the mints that used them, is given in Appendix A. No claim is made that the table comprises a complete record of these symbols. In the numerous printed readings which have been examined, no doubt in many cases the more obscure symbols, such as one or two pellets, have failed to be recorded. And, again, any further large find should add to the moneyers and mints, if not to the number of different symbols given in the present list. It is thought, however, that the schedule is comprehensive enough for the purpose of this paper. It will be seen from Appendix A that the use of these special marks was of considerable extent, and one thought which might arise in the mind of the reader is that they might be intended to mark a general recoinage after a trial of the integrity of the money, similar to the pyx marks of later days. That some such trials were necessary is obvious, and that they were made is proved by the presence of the moneyers' names on the coins, and by that law decreed by King Æthelred II at Wantage which provided that every moneyer accused of striking false money should undergo the threefold ordeal. But, unlike the later mint-marks, the symbols in question, though numerous, are not universal enough to have marked a division of the coinage between the tests of its integrity. It will be observed that, in addition to the ordinary symbols, such as the annulet and the cross, certain letters of the alphabet, sometimes found on the coins, have been included. At first sight it might be supposed that these letters carry a meaning different from the ordinary marks. As, for instance, that they are the initials of grantees of dies or of territorial earls or thanes, or that they represent mints different from those given in the inscriptions. Sometimes the letters appear in duplicate, or even quadruplicate, on the coins. Had they been intended to indicate names of persons or places, additional letters of the names would have been used instead of a repetition of the same letters. Again, that they are not mint-marks due to the disturbances of the Danish raids and conquest at the end of the reign of Æthelred II, when it is true they are most frequently in evidence, is proved by their existence in the

Confessor's reign when there was no conquest. As will appear later, a close examination of the letters in relation to their types and the reigns in which they appear leaves little doubt that they belong to the same category as the other marks.

An examination of Appendix A shows that the sacred symbols of the annulet and the cross are in considerable evidence, and, on a hasty verdict, it might be concluded that they are marks indicating that the places inscribed on the coins bearing them were ecclesiastical mints, as was the case when, in later times, objects of a religious character, *e.g.*, a crozier head, undoubtedly marked such mints; but a closer examination of the table will show that this theory is untenable, because the symbols in question are not only mixed with other objects of a secular character, but are in evidence on coins of towns unlikely, at the time at least, to have had ecclesiastical moneyers. For example, the annulet appears in the field of the reverse of some of the coins of the writer's Type 4¹ of Æthelred II, *Hildebrand* D, struck by the moneyer Hwatemán of Norwich.² Although, at the present time, this city is the well-known capital of the East Anglian see, it did not become the bishop's seat until the time of William II. Further, in the next type, 5, *Hildebrand* A, the same moneyer struck coins with the letter A in the field of the reverse³ instead of the annulet. Had the latter been intended for an ecclesiastical mint-mark it would have been continued on Type 5 instead of being replaced by another and secular symbol. Again, there are more coins struck by this moneyer without any special mark at all than with the two symbols mentioned. Other cases similar to that of the Norwich example will be found on reference to the table. Further, there are cases of mint towns where it is known that the bishops coined money, but of which no coins were specially marked. Finally, although under the laws of Æthelstan the bishops were allowed to issue their own money, under those of Æthelred II they were precluded from doing so, for the latter monarch ordained that no one but the king should have a moneyer. Severe punishments were also

¹ See *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910, p. 251, for the chronological arrangement of the Types of Æthelred II, followed in this paper.

² Symbol No. 9.

³ Symbol No. 17.

ordered for contravention of this and other laws connected with the coinage.¹ The selection of these ecclesiastical symbols must therefore, it is thought, be due either to the fairly general religious colouring of all art work of the time, or to more or less haphazard selection of irons already in use for ordinary purposes and picked up by the die-sinkers to meet a special necessity. It certainly cannot be said that, necessarily, the coins on which they appear are ecclesiastical money, although, as we shall see, in some cases they might conceivably have been used on coins of ecclesiastical origin, as they were on coins which were not struck at ecclesiastical mints.

A further feature to be noted from Appendix A is the very general use of certain of the symbols, which indicates that they were adopted at the central engraving place or places for some special purpose which rendered it necessary to differentiate one coin of the same type and town from another. Had the insertion of these marks been fortuitous, or had they been punched in locally by the moneyers themselves, we should scarcely have had so many mints adopting the same kind of mark.

As, therefore, it is improbable that the symbols under review are marks relating to the mints, or are meaningless modifications of the type, we are left with but two other feasible explanations, namely, that they were inserted on the coins for some purpose concerning the moneyers, or the engravers. Evidence will later be submitted to show that they were marks primarily designed to meet a want in connection with the moneyers rather than the engravers, and it is a reasonable assumption that they were mainly adopted for the following reasons :—

1. To differentiate between moneyers with identical names minting contemporaneously, or in succession, at the same town on the same type.
2. To mark a fresh issue by certain moneyers of the current type after the prior supplies of coins had been examined and passed as good and lawful money.

¹ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 1840, p. 126.

The need for a mark of some kind when two or more moneyers of the same name worked together, or in succession, at the same mint appears first to have been brought under notice by Mr. W. J. Andrew, who also suggested that if a moneyer, formerly working for the king, were transferred to the service of an ecclesiastic who had the privilege of a die, some mark would be necessary to distinguish between the royal and ecclesiastical issues bearing that moneyer's name, if the same type were continued at the time of the change.¹ It follows also that an opposite change of moneyers would create the same necessity for a mark. As a further need for a differentiating symbol Mr. Andrew suggested to the writer that something of the kind would be necessary in those cases where a moneyer who circulated coins either a little too much alloyed or too light was punished only with a fine and continued to work in the same type. I do not think, however, that the last-named was a circumstance which occurred in the period under review, for the coins vary so extensively in weight in all the types that it is evident that a very loose application of the standard was allowed. Presumably most payments were made by weight. Certainly those of the Dane-gelt were.

It is possible that the symbols in evidence were adopted in respect of all the reasons named, except the last, although it cannot be stated with certainty which symbols represent the different circumstances involving their adoption. The great bulk were, as will be shown later, page 18, inserted as a means of differentiation between moneyers of the same name and mint coining together, but there are indications that some are due to the necessity for differentiation on other grounds, as, for example, the muled symbols—see Appendix A—and the coins of Type 6, *Hildebrand* E, of Edward the Confessor, engraved with the name Leofric Cioc of Warwick, which are modified by a pellet in one angle of the reverse cross.²

It might also be thought that the annulet was specially set apart as a symbol for differentiating between the issues from the royal and ecclesiastical dies, and, indeed in connection with a Stamford coin of

¹ "A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I," pp. 363-4.

² Symbol No. 1.

Edward the Martyr, which is marked with this symbol, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that it belonged to some of the issues of the moneyer in Stamford who, under a charter of Eadgar, confirmed by Edward the Martyr, was given to the Abbot of Peterborough.¹ But that it is not the mark of the Abbot for all his coins is shown by the existence of pennies struck by the same moneyer with and without the annulet, and the evidence of the other coins in the period under review does not lead us to consider that the annulet generally marked the money of the ecclesiastics who held the right of mintage, or indeed that, when it was requisite to mark their coins, an ecclesiastical symbol was necessarily adopted. As a matter of fact, when the annulet was most frequently in evidence, except for the York coins of Edward the Confessor which stand apart, that is, during the last three types of Æthelred II, it is reasonable to conclude, in view of Æthelred's decree that no one but the king should have a moneyer, that such ecclesiastics as had that right previously ceased temporarily to exercise it, and although it is evident, from the charters, that Cnut restored the minting privileges, at least to some ecclesiastics, we find that the annulet on the coins of his reign becomes very infrequent, notwithstanding the huge issues of the types at that time, when one would expect a continual need for differentiating marks on both the ecclesiastical coins and the secular money. The few mints of Cnut known to have used the annulet mark upon their money are Huntingdon, Norwich and Nottingham. The Norwich coin might conceivably be an issue by the East Anglian bishop's moneyer, if the bishop had a moneyer in that place and at that period, although it is quite as likely that such a functionary would, at the time, have been located at the important town of Thetford, to which the see was transferred from Elmham about A.D. 1078. It is improbable, however, that the annulet upon the coins of Huntingdon and Nottingham of this time could have any ecclesiastical origin. In the next two reigns the annulet, in common practically with all other marks, disappears altogether from the coinage, and even in the reign of Edward the

¹ W. J. Andrew, "A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I," p. 362.

Confessor it occurs very rarely, except at York, where the symbol obviously bore relation to the mint or the design of the coins rather than to the moneyer.

The association of these two facts, namely, the frequency of the annulet on the money at a time when the ecclesiastics formerly entitled to the profits of coin dies were temporarily precluded from exercising this privilege, with the rarity and subsequent total absence of the mark at a time when there is reason to suppose that their minting privileges were restored, clearly proves that there was no discrimination in the means adopted for differentiating between moneyers working for the ecclesiastical and secular owners of the dies. Moreover, the evidence indicates that, at least in the period under review, the kings and ecclesiastics, who owned the minting rights, had little or nothing to do with the selection of the marks used for differentiation. The fairly widespread application of certain of the marks also proves that they were not selected by the local Reeves, who were probably responsible for furnishing the lists of moneyers requiring dies, since it would have been impossible for a number of these officials, often residing at long distances from each other, to have chosen, simultaneously, the same mark. At the other extreme, if one official, namely the designer of the coinage, the chief engraver or cuneator to use a post-conquest title in default of a known Saxon one, had been responsible for the selection of the symbols to be used for differentiating the dies, one would expect to find an overwhelming number of mints in a type marked with one kind of symbol. But a reference to Appendix A shows that this is very far from being the case. For example, under Type 2, *Hildebrand* C of Æthelred II, at least five different kinds of symbols are used. But only five mints are known with one mark, three with another, two with two others, and one with the fifth mark. As it may be postulated that the moneyers themselves would not have been allowed to select the marks, the only conclusion one can arrive at is that it was the little body of die-sinkers who chose the marks as they chose their form and their place on the dies. Given that this is the case, we can at once account for certain variations in spelling hitherto considered, by some numismatists, to be engravers' errors, for some of these differences

would undoubtedly be due to a die-sinker's use of his own dialect, *e.g.*, Liofwine is not an error for Leofwine, but simply the use of the Kentish dialect instead of the West Saxon. That the engravers had large powers of selection in respect of the form of the inscriptions is amply proved by the very numerous variations which have come down to us, in some reigns exceeding a thousand different readings for London alone. And again, the symbols were very largely taken from existing punches used for ordinary purposes in the make-up of the designs and inscriptions, and the natural inference is that when a die-sinker found that he had to mark a die specially he very often simply picked up an iron from amongst those in use for ordinary purposes, instead of making one for the purpose. Had he been told what the mark was to be, the symbols would have probably been of a more special and distinctive character. It follows from the selection of ordinary irons for symbol purposes that an emblematic meaning, such, for instance, as that the crescent representing the moon in its secondary stages was emblematic of the second moneyers of the same name at a mint, cannot be attached to these marks, for their selection would often be fortuitous, although a certain amount of religious sentiment on the part of the die-sinkers may have caused them to adopt the annulet and the cross. To the engravers were given the lists of moneyers requiring dies, and there seems no option but to conclude that, although receiving instructions to mark specially the dies of certain moneyers for check purposes, the mere detail of the choice of the mark was left to them, and, after all, so long as they indicated, on their working lists or in some other convenient way, the marks which were specially punched in the dies for the information of the checking officers in the King's Treasury, it did not much matter what those marks were, or who selected them. The same remarks apply to any dies which might have been returned to the die-sinking office to be marked and returned to the mint.

As the choice of the marks was left to the engravers, the simplest of all, a pellet, is most frequently in evidence, as might be expected, for pellet punches must have always been ready to hand, since they were so often required for ordinary purposes. It is more reasonable

to suppose that the engravers marked, when necessary, the dies of the ecclesiastical and secular moneyers in the same way, than that they chose a sacred mark for the dies of the former and a secular mark for those of the latter moneyers. For example, if both a bishop's and a secular moneyer were succeeded by two others of the same name in the same type or were exchanged, the engraver of the dies required in replacement or to be modified, as the case might be, would be more likely to adopt one mark for the two new moneyers than to go out of his way to select a special ecclesiastical mark for the one and something different for the other.

Those cases in which a symbol is in evidence on the money of one or two minting places only may be accounted for in a variety of ways. Perhaps the principal reason is the "accident of finds," but another is that some of the marks are intended to denote a third moneyer coining contemporaneously with, or in succession to, two of the same name. For example, Symbol No. 15 under Æthelred II may possibly mark coins of a third Leofwine of Southampton coining in the type, and Symbol No. 6 coins of the second moneyer of that name. To take an illustration from the reign of Cnut, we have a Leofsig of Gloucester coining with the double symbol of the cross and pellet.¹ Having regard to their wide use it is probable that the pellet alone² and cross only³ are distinguishing marks of second moneyers of the same name and that the use of the pellet and cross together denotes a third Leofsig coining at Gloucester, the second having his dies marked with the cross or pellet alone and the first having his dies unmarked, as usual. The suggestion that some of the symbols denote a third moneyer is not, of course, confined to cases where only one or two moneyers and mints are in evidence as in the examples quoted. A third or fourth moneyer of the same name may possibly, in some cases, be indicated by the marks of more general application. For example, Eadmund of London, a very common name at this period, is in evidence on coins of Type 3, *Hildebrand* E, of Æthelred II with :—

¹ Symbol No. 9.

² Symbol No. 1.

³ Symbol No. 7.

1. Two crosses in the field of the reverse.¹
2. An annulet in the field of the reverse.²
3. Two annulets in the field of the reverse.³

The table also discloses that, at intervals, there was less consistency in the means adopted for differentiation, resulting in a greater variety of symbols with fewer moneyers represented in each class. This result may be due to an increase in the number of engravers, or of engraving centres, for it is by no means certain that throughout the whole period there was only one engraving centre. Granting that the engravers selected the symbols, and, as previously indicated, the marks—see Appendix A—support that view, with an increase in the number of engravers employed to cut dies would come also a greater variety of the symbols used. The high-water mark of variety occurs during the last type of Æthelred II and the first of Cnut, when the contemporary records indicate that there was very great activity in the coining of money, with a resultant need for more engravers. Moreover, coins of these types were taken out of the country more largely than in the other issues, with a result that there was greater scope for their secretion in ancient, and of their discovery in modern times.

The large number of marked coins of certain mints is, in some cases, attributable to the same cause. For example, under Type 5, *Hildebrand* A, of Æthelred II, the increased necessity for coins was in the Eastern counties, for although the Danegelt payments were often made up of levies from over all England, the occupied territories were mulcted in larger sums than the other parts of the country, and so we find that Lincoln, Stamford and Thetford suddenly show, in this type, a great increase in the number of symbolized names—see Appendix C—as they do in the actual number of coins known. From the second type of Cnut, *Hildebrand* G, onward, the symbols and double names must be associated (see later), and the smaller number of marked names known down to the end of the period can be accounted for, amongst other reasons, by a decrease in the duration of the types.

¹ Symbol No. 7.² Symbol No. 9.³ Symbol No. 10.

To the theory that the symbols are moneyers' marks inserted for a definite purpose, it might be objected that they rarely occur until the time of Type 3, *Hildebrand E*, of Æthelred II., and that they are almost unknown on the issues prior to Type 2, *Hildebrand C*. This objection is, it is thought, met partly by the fact that there were fewer moneyers in the earlier period, a condition offering less chance of confusion, and partly by laxity in the means taken for identifying the moneyers. About the time when the symbols became really numerous, however, that is, when Type 3, *Hildebrand E*, was put into circulation, Æthelred II gave considerable attention to the money of the country and re-instituted very heavy penalties for delinquencies connected therewith.¹ The passing of these more stringent laws proves the existence of the need for them. They naturally caused the moneyers to use greater care and circumspection, and, as it is obvious that there must often have been two or more moneyers with similar names minting together or in succession in some towns, not to mention the other reasons given for the necessity of distinguishing marks, the engraving office was confronted with the problem of so preparing the dies as to enable the testing officers to differentiate between the coins of moneyers of the same name and place, striking in the same type. In the absence of a distinguishing mark, the sins of one moneyer might very easily have been laid upon another, innocent of transgression, and when the laws of the country against coining delinquencies were being more strictly enforced it became of paramount importance that no confusion should arise. So the simple marks which we are considering were re-instituted² to show which particular moneyers were responsible for the different coins. The same necessity for differentiation between the engravers responsible for the dies did not, of course, arise, but as the selection of the symbols was probably made at the discretion of the engravers, they would, in that case, and to that extent, be engravers' marks also.

An examination of Appendix A will further show a remarkable

¹ At a gemot held at Wantage in A.D. 997.

² Similar marks occur on Saxon coins issued prior to the period dealt with in this paper.

diminution in the use of symbols after the first real type of Cnut, namely, *Hildebrand* E. Indeed, the writer has not been able to discover any of these special marks on the coins of Harthacnut. The explanation of this desuetude lies, it is thought, in another remarkable feature about the coins of the period,—the insertion upon them of two, in one instance of three, names of a moneyer instead of one only. I am, of course, referring to the rare instances of two or three distinctly separate names on a coin, names which are sometimes divided by a semicolon, not to the numerous compounded single names, like Harthacnut, which are inseparable. A list of the coins bearing these distinctly dual names is given in Appendix B, from which it will be seen that the very period which saw a falling off of the use of the symbols, that is, when *Hildebrand* Type G of Cnut was in circulation, witnessed the general re-introduction¹ and the extension of the use of the double names on the coins. The word extension is used because, although from *Hildebrand* Type I of Cnut the actual number of double names known is, on each type, less than on the preceding issue, *Hildebrand* Type H, yet, having regard to the rarity of the types, the number is, in general, proportionately greater than on *Hildebrand* Type H.

Ruding appears to have been the first to draw attention to these double names on the coins, and he considered that they represented two different moneyers. In other words, that the coins on which they appear were the joint product of two men. But Sir Henry Ellis appears first to have suggested that the two names indicated Christian and “surname,”² and it was Lindsay who arrived at the true explanation of their insertion on the coins when he stated that, in order to differentiate between two moneyers of the same name working together, one of them placed his “surname” on his productions as well as his Christian name.³

The coincidence of the decline in the use of symbols with the gradual

¹ The expedient of using double names goes back at least as far as the time of Eadmund.

² *Numismatic Journal*, Vol. II, p. 253.

³ *A View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy*, 1842, p. 94.

extension of the use of double names on the coins, affords an interesting and convincing commentary on the meaning of these two features of our coinage, and the conclusion is irresistible that the insertion of the composite names took the place of, and proves the reason for, the symbols, namely, that they were intended to differentiate between the moneyers. The coincidence remarked upon also goes to prove that the religious symbols used at various times were adopted at the caprice of the engravers, and not necessarily because they were intended to mark ecclesiastical money, as otherwise the annulet and the cross would have been in evidence throughout the whole period.

A good example of the transition from the use of symbols to that of double names is preserved to us on some coins of Cnut of the Lincoln mint inscribed with the name of Matathan. Of the first real type of this monarch, *Hildebrand E*, we have specimens bearing the ordinary name alone, or modified with symbols—a cross or a pellet in the field of the reverse. In the next type, *Hildebrand G*, occur the double name, Matathan Balluc, alone, and the ordinary name and a symbol—a cross in the field of the obverse; whilst in the following type, *Hildebrand H*, the use of the symbol is finally dropped, leaving only the double name for distinguishing purposes.

Reverting to the table of symbols, Appendix A, it will be noticed that there is a general resumption of their use on the coins of Edward the Confessor, notwithstanding that the double names are also in evidence, although to a less degree. The gradual introduction and subsequent complete use of double names, followed by their decline, is, it is thought, accounted for by changing fashion or evolution in the use of names reflected in the coinage. When the Reeves furnished to the die-sinking centre the names of the moneyers requiring dies for a new coinage, or to meet intermediate changes in personnel, it is only a common-sense hypothesis that they inserted on the lists the full cognomen by which each moneyer was locally known, and if a moneyer bore two names, both appeared on the lists as a matter of course in the same way as although in the preceding period the names of the mints were seldom used, they would, nevertheless, appear on the lists of moneyers requiring dies. In the earlier part of the period under

review coins are so far in evidence only with the Christian names of the moneyers, for to punch one name in a die was less trouble than to arrange for two, but it is quite feasible for coins of this time to have been struck from dies bearing two names and, indeed, there are a few extremely rare cases of such coins in the period before that covered by this paper, but it is improbable that in these isolated cases the insertion of the second names served a special purpose, as was later the case. When the necessity for differentiation arose a privy symbol was used, whether there happened to be a second name on the list or not, for at that time but few men had double names, and in any case, therefore, marks would be necessary in some instances. They were, moreover, no doubt a time-honoured institution. On the accession of the Danish King Cnut, however, the favourite Scandinavian custom of using double or descriptive names began to have its influence in this country, which would result in the appearance of an increasing number of double names amongst the people, and consequently in the lists of moneyers requiring dies. On the evidence of the coins it also gave rise to the inception, in the die-sinking office, of the idea that to use the second names, instead of symbols, was a more effective way of differentiating the dies, when that became necessary, for it will be seen, from Appendix B, that the double names not only first appear on coins in the period under review, in the early part of the Danish King Cnut's reign, but they are accompanied by a decreasing number of symbols, and the more they were utilised the less frequent became the symbol, until, by the time of Cnut's third type, the new system of inserting the double names had, for all practical purposes, wholly displaced the former method of differentiation by symbol, the one or two odd cases occurring from that time to the early part of the reign of Edward the Confessor being no doubt due to the necessity for differentiating dies of moneyers who had no second names, or because the necessity for differentiation arose after the dies had been issued. As before mentioned, no symbols at all are in evidence under the reign of Harthacnut, the last Danish King of England, and it will be seen from Appendix A that there is only one under Harold I. These facts disclose the probability that at some time subsequent to the

C

institution of *Hildebrand* Type G of Cnut, when the country had been put in order after the period of disunion consequent upon the Danish conquest, a general instruction was issued to the engravers to relinquish their use of the arbitrary symbols and universally to use, instead, the second names of the moneyers for differentiating purposes, a practice which had been tentatively adopted by some of the die-sinkers at the beginning of the reign. For a period extending to the early years of Edward the Confessor this new plan was consistently carried into effect, but afterwards some of the engravers became more dilatory in their methods, a not unusual occurrence in the absence of adequate supervision, and, perhaps also as a result of reviving Saxon custom of single names, reverted to the use of symbols again. In consequence, both double names and symbols occur indifferently under Edward the Confessor.

The custom of using double names for differentiating purposes supplies the key to the reason of the use of letters in the field of some of the coins, for, as will be seen from Appendix A, they principally occur in one short period, *i.e.*, in Æthelred's last and Cnut's first type. This period immediately precedes the time of the extensive adoption of double names for differentiating purposes, namely in Cnut's second type, when the letters entirely disappear but for a few rare instances when the symbols occur again in the time of Edward the Confessor. The corollary is that the letters stand for the same purpose as the other marks, with which, indeed, they sometimes appear on the coins, and that they are the intermediary in choice by certain die-sinkers between the symbols proper and the double names. At all events the present suggestion, that the letters in the field of some of the coins are marks of differentiation involves no awkward exceptions, and is consistent with the whole series of other extraneous marks on the coins.

The practical non-existence of symbols from the end of the reign of Cnut to the beginning of that of Edward the Confessor shows that the necessity for differentiation of dies arose, in nearly all cases, through the existence of moneyers of the same name coining in the same mint and type, since the other reasons for differentiation, enumerated on pages 7 and 8, involved alteration of dies already in use.

Close observation of the table of symbols will show that there is an exception to the proposition that the marks on these late Saxon coins were moneyers' marks. Reference is made to the annulet almost universally used on the coins of York during the time of Edward the Confessor.¹ It is absent only on Types 1 and 3, *Hildebrand* C, varieties *d* and *c*, together with a few examples on some of the other issues. Most of the exceptions occur in Type 8, *Hildebrand* H, which is the well-known "martlet" issue, and no doubt, in these cases, the reason for the omission of the annulets, for two annulets are invariably used on this issue, is for lack of space in the field. Unless very special attention were paid to the placing of the martlets, no room would be available for the annulets, and that want of care in spacing was responsible for their omission in the case of the coins of this type is largely borne out by the fact that, of the nine names of moneyers known of the issue, coins with and without the annulet occur of at least four. In some other types the exceptional absence of the annulet is due to bad workmanship, since the coins are of otherwise defective make.

In previous reigns there is ample evidence of a very widespread adoption of the annulet for purposes of the differentiation of moneyers. At least it is known on coins struck at mints so widely distributed as Hereford, Huntingdon, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Nottingham, Southampton, Stamford, Thetford, Worcester and York, but in no case is it universal on the coins of any particular mint, and it is very rarely found on those of York, notwithstanding that the coins of that city are extremely numerous throughout the whole period. When the use of symbols for differentiating purposes was revived in the time of Edward the Confessor, the annulet still appears intermittently on the coins of Chester, Exeter, Lincoln and London; but in the case of York its presence is practically universal. This universality of the annulet on the York coins of Edward the Confessor forces it out of the category of a moneyer's differentiating mark, and further presumptive evidence of this is afforded by its appearance on two York coins, one inscribed

¹ Symbol No. 10.

with the double name ARNGRIM LOA, and the other bearing the single name ARNGRIM, and the moneyer's mark of the crescent. The double name on the one coin, and the crescent mark on the other, constitute the moneyers' differentiating marks, leaving the annulet as a mint or ornamental mark.

The first thought which arises in one's mind as to the purpose of the annulet on these coins of York is that it was inserted to mark an ecclesiastical mint, but as the number of moneyers to which the archbishop was entitled does not appear to have been greater than three, and the number of different names which appear on coins marked with the annulet in any one issue is considerably in excess of that figure, reaching the high level of eighteen on one of the types, the coins in question can hardly be regarded as all of ecclesiastical origin, although some no doubt were. The idea that the King might have farmed his rights to the Archbishop, who thereupon marked all his coins, is nullified by the absence of the symbol on some of the coins. It cannot even be suggested that these coins without the annulet are ecclesiastical, as on Type 8, *Hildebrand* H, of Edward the Confessor, six names are in evidence on coins without the symbol. It therefore appears that, although the mark may be reminiscent of St. Peter, the patron saint of York, it was inserted either for no special purpose connected with the issue of the coins at all, or that a specific, but at present unknown, reason existed when it was first introduced, and it was punched in the dies of all subsequent issues as a tradition or custom without meaning. That the symbol on these York pieces might be ornamental is supported by the fact that on all the martlet coins on which it appears there are two annulets instead of one. Such exceptional treatment of this type is inexplicable if the mark were inserted for a special purpose, but it loses its anomalous aspect if it was simply ornamental without meaning. Again, as previously commented upon, it is on this type, which after all leaves so little space for additional ornamentation, that most of the coins without the symbol occur. If, on the other hand, the annulet on these York coins had been punched in for some special purpose which necessitated the mark in spite of lack of space, we should have found it anywhere on either side of the coins of this

type, or even struck over parts of the design itself. The suggestion that the annulet carried no special significance in the case of these York coins is also strengthened by the fact that its use suddenly ceases with the death of Edward; the York coins of Harold II, although of fairly frequent occurrence, being, so far as the writer is aware, without the symbol. Although there was political necessity for the dies of Harold II. to be prepared quickly, there is little doubt that if the annulet had been intended to meet a special purpose connected with the issue of the coins of York it would have been inserted on them; if, on the other hand, it was merely ornamental, it would have been dropped, as entailing unnecessary labour. Whether the right of the Archbishop to coin had been confirmed by Harold II is not known. If such right had not been confirmed and the annulet could be shown, on other grounds, to be an ecclesiastical mint-mark, its absence on the York coins of Harold II would be explained, but the practical universality of the mark on the York coins of Edward the Confessor shows that it did not mark the Archbishop's coins only. Moreover, in the reign of William I, when it is known that the Archbishop did strike money, neither the annulet nor any other mark appears on the coins.

The symbols and double names throw some light on the sequence of the types of the coins of the period under review, but it is not thought that the data available need be particularised here, as it will be more useful, it is hoped, to embody it in future papers directly dealing with the types of the coins.

APPENDIX A.

SYMBOLS ON LATE SAXON COINS.

REFERENCES.—Hildebrand = Hildebrand, "*Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm*," 1881. C-B = Major Carlyon-Britton, "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905. P = H. A. Parsons, "The Coin Types of Æthelred II.," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.

NOTE.—The names of the moneyers and mints are given in full, where there is no uncertainty. On the coins they are often abbreviated in varying degrees.

EDWARD THE MARTYR.

I. ANNULET IN THE FIELD.

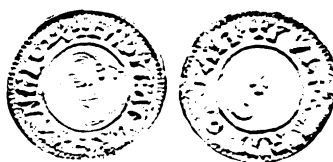


FIG. 1.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE MARTYR BEARING THE SYMBOL OF AN ANNULET IN THE FIELD OF THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|----------|-----|-----|----------|
| Hildebrand A. ... | Wulfgar | ... | ... | Stamford | ... | ... | Reverse. |

ÆTHELRED II.

I. PELLET IN THE FIELD OR ON THE INNER CIRCLE.



FIG. 2.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II., TYPE 2, BEARING THE SYMBOL OF A PELLET ON THE INNER CIRCLE OF THE REVERSE.¹ H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| P2, Hildebrand C. | Ælfric | Cambridge | Reverse. |
| " | Edwi = Edwig or Edwine | Hertford | " |
| " | Lifing | London | " |
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Leofnoth | Chester | " |
| " | Æthelwi = Æthelwine ? | Hereford | Obverse. |
| " | Osferth | Lincoln | Reverse. |
| " | Ræierold | " | " |
| " | Ulfcetel | " | " |
| " | Eadwold | London | " |
| " | Colgrim | York | " |
| P4, Hildebrand D. | Byrhsige | Barnstaple | " |
| " | Dunstan | Exeter | " |
| " | Wulfsige | " | Obverse. |
| " | Osgut | Huntingdon | Reverse. |
| " | Osgut | Lincoln | " |

¹ The pellet on the inner circle of the obverse is part of the sceptre, being the top of the handle. The six other pellets on the obverse also form part of the design, three making the head of the sceptre, one being the brooch of the mantle, one the chin, and the last the knot of the hair.

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------|
| P4, Hildebrand D. | Unbein | Lincoln | Reverse. |
| " | Wulmær | " | " |
| " | Æthelwerd | London | " |
| " | Brunstan | " | " |
| " | Eadmund | " | " |
| " | Godman | " | " |
| " | Godric | " | " |
| " | Leofnoth | " | " |
| " | Leofstan | " | " |
| " | Osmund | " | " |
| " | Alfwold | Wallingford | " |
| " | Leofstan | York | " |
| " | Othgrim | " | " |
| " | Thurstan | " | " |
| " | Ulfcetel | " | " |
| P4-5, Hildebrand D a. | Duda | Winchester | " |
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Godman | Dover | " |
| " | Æthelmær | Lincoln | " |
| " | Bruntat | " | " |
| " | Dreng | " | " |
| " | Ulfcetel | " | " |
| " | Wulbern | " | " |
| " | Wulfric | " | " |
| " | Wulfred | London | " |
| " | Bruna | Lydford | " |
| " | Goda | " | Obverse. |
| " | Leofwine | Newark | Reverse. |
| " | Swertgar | Stamford | " |
| " | Leofsunu | Winchester | " |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

2. TWO PELLETS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 3.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, TYPE 4, BEARING THE SYMBOL OF TWO PELLETS ON THE REVERSE.¹ H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|-----|----------|
| P2, Hildebrand C. | Ælfric | ... | ... | Cambridge | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " | Ælfstan | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | " |
| " | Ælfwine | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Eadsige | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Eadwine | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Osulf ... | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Heawulf | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Leofstan | ... | ... | Hertford | ... | ... | " |
| " | Ælfwig | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | " |
| " | Ælfwine | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Eadsige | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Eadwine | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Eadwold | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Edwig | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Godman | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Leofred | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Osulf ... | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Oda ... | ... | ... | Wareham | ... | ... | " |
| P4, Hildebrand D. | Ælfwine | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | " |
| " | Æthelwerd | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Brunstan | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |

¹ The two pellets on the obverse form part of the design, one being the brooch of the mantle and the other the knot of the hair.

ÆTHELRED II—*continued.*

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------|
| P4, Hildebrand D. | Eadmund | London | Reverse. |
| " | Eadwold | " | " |
| " | Godwine | " | " |
| " | Leofwine | " | " |
| " | Lifing | " | " |
| " | Osulf | " | " |
| " | Wulfwine | " | " |
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Eadsige | Hastings | " |
| " | Æthelnoth | Lincoln | " |
| " | Osferth | " | " |
| " | Wulbern | " | " |
| " | Wulfric | " | " |
| " | Godrine | Sidbury | " |
| " | Leofwine | Stamford | " |

3. THREE PELLETS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 4.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, TYPE 5, BEARING THE SYMBOL OF THREE PELLETS ON THE OBERSE. W. C. WELLS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| P2, Hildebrand C. | Eadmund | Norwich | Reverse. |
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Lofwine = Leofwine? | Lincoln | " |
| P4, Hildebrand D. | Æthelwerd | London | " |
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Leofwine | Chester ¹ | " |
| " | Grim | Lincoln | Obverse. |
| " | Levig... .. | " | " |
| " | Wulcar | Stamford | " |

¹ Erroneously given in *Hildebrand* to Leicester.

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

4. FOUR PELLETS IN THE FIELD OR ON THE INNER CIRCLE.

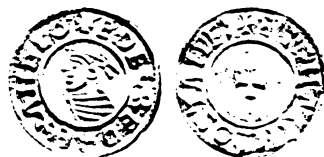


FIG. 5.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, TYPE 5, BEARING THE SYMBOLS OF FOUR PELLETS ON THE REVERSE. MAJOR CARLYON-BRITTON.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------|
| P1, Hildebrand B2. | Edric... .. | Cambridge | Reverse. |
| P2, Hildebrand C. | Ælfric | " | " |
| " | Edric... ... | " | " |
| " | Sidwine | " | " |
| " | Edwi=Edwig or Edwine | Hertford | " |
| " | Wulfgar | London | " |
| " | Leofric | Lympne | " |
| " | Leofwine | Thetford | " |
| P2-5, Hildebrand A b. | Æthelstan | Lympne | " |
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Leofwine | Bedford | " |
| " | Wulfsige | Cambridge | " |
| " | Godric | Canterbury | " |
| " | Osferth | Lincoln | Obverse. |
| " | Æscman | Stamford | Reverse. |
| " | Æscwig | " | " |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

5. FIVE PELLETS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 6.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, BEARING THE SYMBOL OF FIVE PELLETS ON THE REVERSE, FOUR ON THE FIELD, AND ONE ON THE INNER CIRCLE. H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|-----|----------|
| P2, Hildebrand C. | Godric | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " | Ælfric | ... | ... | Southwark | .. | ... | " |

6. CROSS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 7.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, TYPE 5, BEARING THE SYMBOL OF A CROSS ON THE ORVERSE. W. C. WELLS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|-----|----------|
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Sumerletha | ... | ... | Lincoln | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " | Ælfwig | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " | Ælfwine | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Eadwerd | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Eadwold | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Sweting | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " | Colgrim | ... | ... | York | ... | ... | Obverse. |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|----------|
| P4, Hildebrand D. | Sumerletha | Lincoln | Obverse. |
| " | Arnthur | York | Reverse. |
| " | Hildulf | " | Obverse. |
| " | Oda | " | Reverse. |
| " | Thurstan | " | " |
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Godric | Bedford | Obverse. |
| " | Dreng | Lincoln | Reverse. |
| " | Sumerletha | " | Obverse. |
| " | Leofwine | Southampton | " |
| " | Leofwold | " | " |
| " | Wulfnoth | " | " |
| " | Godæg | Stamford | Reverse. |
| " | Godric | " | " |
| " | Swert = Swertgar ? | " | " |
| " | Swertbrand | " | " |
| " | Edwine | Thetford | Obverse. |

7. TWO CROSSES IN THE FIELD.

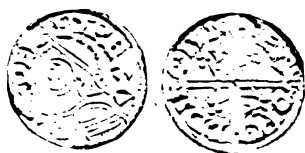


FIG. 8.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, BEARING THE SYMBOL OF TWO CROSSES ON THE REVERSE. H. A. PARSONS.

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|----------|
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Æthelwerd | London | Reverse. |
| " | Eadmund | " | " |
| " | Eadsige | " | " |
| " | Eadwold | " | " |
| " | Ealdgar | " | " |
| " | Goda | " | " |
| " | Godman | " | " |
| " | Godwine | " | " |
| " | Lifing | " | " |
| " | Wulfric | " | " |

8. FOUR CROSSES IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 9.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, BEARING THE SYMBOL OF FOUR CROSSES ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A c and A d. | Elewine = Elfwine ? ... | Colchester | Reverse. |
| " | Godric | " | " |
| " | Leofstan | " | " |
| " | Siwold | Ipswich | " |
| " | Godeleof | Stamford | " |
| " | Godric | " | " |
| " | Æthelwold | Thetford | " |
| " | Edric | " | " |
| " | Edwine | " | " |
| " | Elfwine | " | " |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A c and A d. | Fæsthulf | Thetford | Reverse. |
| " | Leofthegn | " | " |
| " | Manna | " | " |
| " | Wælgist | " | " |
| " | Wulfnoth | " | " |

9. ANNULET IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 10.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, TYPE 4, WITH THE SYMBOL OF AN ANNULET ON THE REVERSE.¹ H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------|
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Eadmund | London | Reverse. |
| " | Eadwine | " | " |
| " | Godwine | " | " |
| P4, Hildebrand D. | Hwatemán | Norwich | " |
| " | Godæg | Stamford | " |
| " | Outhgrim | Lincoln | " |
| " | Ulfcetel | York | " |
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Leofwine | Lincoln | Obverse. |
| " | Oswold | Nottingham | Reverse. |
| " | Ælfwald | Stamford | " |
| " | Godæg | " | " |
| " | Hild | " | " |
| " | Wulfgar | " | " |

¹ The annulet sometimes has a pellet inside, or the appearance of one caused by the pushing up of the surface of the interior in the act of striking the coin.

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------|
| P ₅ , Hildebrand A. | Wulstan=Wulfstan | Stamford | Reverse. |
| " | Martin | Worcester | " |
| " | Wulfsige | York | " |

10. TWO ANNULETS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 11.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, TYPE 3, WITH THE SYMBOL OF TWO ANNULETS ON THE REVERSE. H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|--|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| P ₁ , Hildebrand B ₂ . | Theodred | London | Reverse. |
| P ₃ , Hildebrand E. | Æthelwine | Hereford | " |
| " | Æthelwerd | London | " |
| " | Eadmund | " | " |
| " | Eadwine | " | Obverse and reverse. |
| " | Eadwold | " | Reverse. |
| " | Ealdgar | " | " |
| " | Ethelred | " | " |
| " | Godwine | " | " |
| " | Leofstan | " | " |
| " | Leofwine | " | " |
| " | Lifing | " | " |
| " | Wulfric | " | " |
| " | Erewine | Thetford | " |
| P ₅ , Hildebrand A. | Edwine | London | " |
| " | Osmund | " | " |
| " | Wulfwine | " | " |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

11. TWO ANNULETS AND CROSS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 12.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF TWO ANNULETS AND A CROSS ON THE REVERSE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------|
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Wulfstan | London | Reverse. |

12. TWO ANNULETS AND TWO PELLETS IN THE FIELD.

(See No. 3780 in the Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm, 1881.)

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------|
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Manna | Thetford | Reverse. |

13. ANNULET AND PELLET IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 13.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II, TYPE 3, WITH THE SYMBOL OF AN ANNULET AND A PELLET ON THE REVERSE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------|
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Godric | London | Reverse. |
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Liofwine | Lewes | " |
| " | Thorstan | York | " |

D

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

14. ANNULET AND THE LETTER E IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 14.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF AN ANNULET AND THE LETTER E ON THE REVERSE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Eadmund | Lincoln | Reverse. |

15. ANNULET AND CROSS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 15.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF AN ANNULET AND A CROSS ON THE OBVERSE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Leofwine | Southampton | Obverse. |
| " | Alfvald | Stamford | Reverse. |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

16. CROSS AND PELLET IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 16.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF A CROSS AND A PELLET ON THE REVERSE. W. C. WELLS

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| P4, Hildebrand D. | Sumerletha | York | Reverse. |
| " | Sumerletha | Lincoln | Obverse and Reverse. ¹ |

17. LETTER $\mathbf{\Lambda}$ IN THE FIELD.³



FIG. 17.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER \mathbf{A} ON THE REVERSE. W. C. WELLS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Leofric | Lincoln ³ | Reverse. |
| " | Sumerletha | " | " |
| " | Lifing | London | " |
| " | Hwateman | Norwich | " |
| " | Ælfstan | Winchester | " |
| " | Godman | " | " |
| " | Leofwold | " | " |
| " | Odea | " | " |
| " | Siboda | " | " |
| " | Swileman | " | " |

¹ The cross is on the obverse and the pellet is on the reverse. Probably a mule—not a distinct and separate symbol for this coin.

² The unbarred \mathbf{A} of the period.

³ The \mathbf{A} is inverted on this coin.

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

18. LETTER D IN THE FIELD.

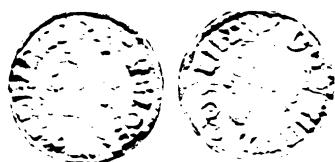


FIG. 18.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER D ON THE REVERSE. MAJOR CARLYON-BRITTON.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|--------------|----------------|----------|
| P4, Hildebrand D. | Dreng | Lincoln | Reverse. |

19. LETTER E IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 19.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER E ON THE REVERSE. W. C. WELLS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Æthelmær | Lincoln | Obverse. |
| „ | Justan | „ | Reverse |
| „ | Leofnoth | London | „ |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

20. LETTER E AND A PELLET IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 20.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER E AND A PELLET ON THE REVERSE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Æthelmær | Lincoln | Reverse. |

21. LETTER S IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 21.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER S ON THE REVERSE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Godman | London | Reverse. |
| „ | Æthelwine | Stamford | „ |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

22. TWO LETTERS S IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 22.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF TWO LETTERS S ON THE REVERSE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Brihtwold | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | Reverse. |

23. SCEPTRE HEAD IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 23.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF A SCEPTRE HEAD ON THE REVERSE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|----------|
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Godman | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | Reverse. |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

24. OMEGA (ω) IN THE FIELD.¹



FIG. 24.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER ω ON THE REVERSE. W. C. WELLS.

| Type | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------|
| P5, Hildebrand A. | Leofwine | Stamford | Reverse |

25. CRESCENT IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 25.—PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II WITH THE SYMBOL OF A CRESCENT ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|----------|
| P3, Hildebrand E. | Thorstan | York | Reverse. |

¹ This is the well-known letter on the Hand of Providence Type of the same reign. It is not the Mercian ω, for M appears on the coins of this late period as Π, M, or M.

CNUT.

I. PELLET IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 26.—PENNY OF CNUT (HILDEBRAND E) WITH THE SYMBOL OF A PELLET IN THE FIELD OF THE REVERSE.¹ H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|------------|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|----------|
| Hildebrand B. ... | Elfric.. | ... | ... | Bath ... | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| Hildebrand E. ... | Ælfsig | ... | ... | Chester | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Leofnoth | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Macsuthan | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Matethan | ... | ... | Lincoln | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Osferth | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Osgut | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Capelin | ... | ... | Stamford | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Swertbrand | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Swileman | ... | ... | Winchester | ... | ... | " |
| Hildebrand G. ... | Lifing | ... | ... | Lincoln | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Goldus | ... | ... | Salisbury | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Capelin | ... | ... | Stamford | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Crurn | ... | ... | York ... | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Frithcol | ... | ... | " ... | ... | ... | " |
| Hildebrand H. ... | Grimulf | ... | ... | " ... | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| Hildebrand I. ... | Dodda | ... | ... | Exeter | ... | ... | Reverse. |

¹ The pellet in the centre of the cross and the four pellets on the cusps of the quatrefoil are part of the design. What appears to be a pellet on the voided cross is a die flaw.

CNUT—*continued.*

2. TWO PELLETS IN THE FIELD OR ON THE INNER CIRCLE.

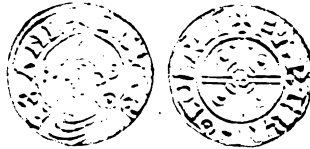


FIG. 27.—PENNY OF CNUT (HILDEBRAND G) WITH THE SYMBOL OF TWO PELLETS ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|-----|----------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Godwine | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Wulfric | ... | ... | Southwark | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| Hildebrand G. ... | Ædwine | ... | ... | Stamford | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Fargrim | ... | ... | York | ... | ... | " |

3. THREE PELLETS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 28.—PENNY OF CNUT WITH THE SYMBOL OF THREE PELLETS ON THE OBVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|----------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Ethstan | ... | ... | Bristol | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Godric | ... | ... | Gloucester | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Godwine | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Sired | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Elewine = Elfwine ? | ... | ... | Hereford | ... | ... | " |

CNUṬ—continued.

4. FOUR PELLETS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 29.—PENNY OF CNUṬ (HILDEBRAND E) WITH THE SYMBOL OF FOUR PELLETS ON THE OBVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------|-----|-----|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Hildebrand A. ... | Brihtnoth | ... | ... | London ... | Reverse. |
| Hildebrand E. ... | Gunleot | ... | ... | Chester ... | Obverse. |
| Hildebrand E. ... | Godwine | ... | ... | Gloucester .. | Reverse. |
| Hildebrand E. ... | Elst | ... | ... | Hastings ... | " |
| " ... | Ælfnoth | ... | ... | Huntingdon ... | " |
| " ... | Seman | ... | ... | Salisbury ... | " |
| " ... | Ælfgar | ... | ... | Southwark ... | Obverse and Reverse. ¹ |

5. SIX PELLETS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 30.—PENNY OF CNUṬ WITH THE SYMBOL OF SIX PELLETS ON THE OBVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----|-----|---------------|----------------------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Elewine = Elfwine ? | ... | ... | Chester ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Bruman | ... | ... | London ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Ælfgar | ... | ... | Southwark ... | Obverse and Reverse. |

¹ Two pellets each side.

CNUT—*continued.*

6. EIGHT PELLETS IN THE FIELD.¹



FIG. 31.—PENNY OF CNUT WITH THE SYMBOL OF EIGHT PELLETS, FOUR ON EACH SIDE. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|---------|-----|-----|----------------------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Efic | ... | ... | Norwich | ... | ... | Obverse and Reverse. |

7. CROSS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 32.—PENNY OF CNUT (HILDEBRAND E) WITH THE SYMBOL OF A CROSS ON THE OBVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|----------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Leofsige | ... | ... | Gloucester | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Oswig | ... | ... | Ilchester | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Aslac | ... | ... | Lincoln | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Justan | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Justan | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | Reverse. |

¹ There are four pellets on each side. Those on the reverse are outside the quatrefoil. Probably a mule—not a distinct and separate symbol.

CNUT—*continued.*

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-----|-----|----------|-----|-----|----------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Matethan | ... | ... | Lincoln | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Osferth | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Osgut | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Sumerletha | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Elfwine | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Godric | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Liofric | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Æscman | ... | ... | Stamford | ... | ... | " |
| Hildebrand G. ... | Brihtric | ... | ... | Lincoln | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Matethan | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Sverting = Swerting ? | | | " | ... | ... | " |

8. CROSS AND FOUR PELLETS IN THE FIELD.¹

FIG. 33.—PENNY OF CNUT WITH THE SYMBOL OF A CROSS AND FOUR PELLETS.
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|----------------------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Leofsige | ... | ... | Gloucester | ... | ... | Obverse and Reverse. |

¹ The cross is on the obverse, and the four pellets are on the reverse. Probably a mule—not a distinct and separate symbol.

CNUT—*continued.*

9. CROSS AND PELLET IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 34.—PENNY OF CNUT WITH THE SYMBOL OF A CROSS AND PELLET.¹
BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Leofsige ... | Gloucester ... | Obverse. |
| „ ... | Sumerletha ... | Lincoln ... | Obverse and Reverse. ² |

10. TWO CROSSES IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 35.—PENNY OF CNUT WITH THE SYMBOL OF TWO CROSSES ON THE REVERSE.³
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| Hildebrand Eb. ... | Mansige ... | Sudbury ... | Reverse. |

¹ The pellet is in the top left angle. There are die flaws on the voided cross and in the field that look like pellets.

² The cross is on the obverse, pellet is on the reverse; also probably a mule in the case of this coin.

³ The pellets on both sides form part of the design, and indicate the points of junction between the arches of what is intended to be the quatrefoil of this type.

CNUT—*continued.*

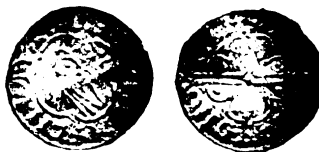
11. ANNULET IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 36.—PENNY OF CNUT WITH THE SYMBOL OF AN ANNULET ON THE REVERSE, OUTSIDE THE QUATREFOIL. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|----------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Manna | ... | ... | Norwich | ... | ... | Reverse. |
| " ... | Bruning | ... | ... | Nottingham | ... | ... | " |
| " ... | Oswold | ... | ... | " | ... | ... | " |

12. ANNULET AND THREE PELLETS IN THE FIELD.

FIG. 36A.—PENNY OF CNUT WITH THE SYMBOL OF AN ANNULET AND THREE PELLETS ON THE REVERSE.¹ ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|----------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Eadnoth | ... | ... | Huntingdon | ... | ... | Reverse. |

¹ There is a flaw in the field near one of the pellets, not unlike a crescent.

CNUT—*continued.*

13. LETTER T IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 37.—PENNY OF CNUT WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER T ON THE OBVERSE.
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|-----------|-----|-----|----------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Wulfsig | ... | ... | Cambridge | ... | ... | Obverse. |
| " ... | Eadwerd | ... | ... | London | ... | ... | " |

14. LETTER T AND TWO PELLETS IN THE FIELD.¹



FIG. 38.—PENNY OF CNUT WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER T AND TWO PELLETS.
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | | | Mint. | | | Side. |
|-------------------|----------|-----|-----|----------|-----|-----|----------------------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Sprunt | ... | ... | Thetford | ... | ... | Obverse and Reverse. |

¹ The letter is behind the bust on the obverse, and the two pellets are on the reverse. What appear to be pellets on the obverse are part of the crown. Probably a mule—not a distinct and separate symbol.

CNU—*continued.*15. OMEGA (ω) IN THE FIELD.FIG. 39.—PENNY OF CNU WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER ω ON THE OBVERSE.¹
BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|----------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Sired | Gloucester | Obverse. |

16. OMEGA (ω) AND CROSS AND PELLET IN THE FIELD.²FIG. 40.—PENNY OF CNU WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER ω AND CROSS
AND PELLET. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Hildebrand E. ... | Sired | Gloucester | Obverse and Reverse. |

¹ The omega is in front of the bust, but the base of the letter is very weak.² The letter is on the obverse, in front of the bust, and the cross and pellet are on the reverse. Probably a mule—not a distinct and separate symbol.

HAROLD I.

I. TWO PELLETS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 41.—PENNY OF HAROLD I BEARING THE SYMBOL OF TWO PELLETS IN THE FIELD OF THE OBVERSE.¹ BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| Hildebrand B. ... | Wædel | Bath | Obverse. |

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

I. PELLET IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 42.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TYPE 9, WITH THE SYMBOL OF A PELLET ON THE REVERSE.² H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------|
| C-B2, Hildebrand A. | Enric | Derby | Reverse. |
| ” | Godric | ” | ” |
| ” | Lifing | Winchester ... | ” |
| C-B3, Hildebrand C. | Lifing | Exeter | Obverse. |
| ” | Blacman | Nottingham ... | ” |

¹ The pellet on the neck is part of the design.

² The pellet on the centre of the cross is part of the design.

E

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------|
| C-B ₄ , Hildebrand B. | Wulstan | Dorchester ... | Reverse. |
| " | Godric | Lincoln | " |
| " | Lifing | London | " |
| C-B ₅ , Hildebrand D. | Drsiie | Bedford | " |
| C-B ₆ , Hildebrand E. | Ælfric | " | " |
| " | Brihtric | Colchester ... | " |
| " | Leofwerd | " | " |
| " | Lifing | Exeter | " |
| " | Brid | Hastings | " |
| " | Godric | Lincoln | Obverse. |
| " | Wulfred | London | Reverse. |
| " | Wulfric | Shaftesbury ... | " |
| " | Leofric Cioc ... | Warwick | " |
| " | Lueinc = Luffing ? | " | " |
| " | Godwine | Winchester ... | " |
| " | Leofwine | " | " |
| C-B ₇ , Hildebrand F. | Julferd | Gloucester ... | Obverse. |
| " | Dunning | Hastings | Reverse. |
| " | Godwine | Rochester | " |
| " | Burewine | Wallingford ... | " |
| C-B ₈ , Hildebrand H. | Eadwerd | Lewes | " |
| " | Dereman | London | " |
| " | Lifstan | Rochester | " |
| " | Wulmær | Romney | " |
| " | Brihtric | Taunton | " |
| C-B ₉ , Hildebrand G. | Osmær | Bath | Obverse. |
| " | Dunning | Hastings | Reverse. |
| " | Wulmær | Romney | " |
| " | Sæwin | Southampton ... | " |

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|----------|
| C-B9, Hildebrand G. | Blacere | Thetford | Reverse. |
| " | Sumerd | " | " |
| C-B10, Hildebrand A. | Leofthegen ¹ | Bedford | " |
| " | Eadwerd | Cambridge | Obverse. |
| " | Wulmær | Romney | Reverse. |
| " | Godwine | Maldon | " |
| " | Ælfwine | Thetford | " |
| " | Brand ¹ | Wallingford | " |
| " | Leofwold | Winchester | " |

2. TWO PELLETS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 43.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TYPE 3, WITH THE SYMBOL OF TWO PELLETS ON THE OBTVERSE.² H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| C-B3, Hildebrand C. | Ælfwine | Huntingdon | Reverse. |
| " | Godric | Lincoln | Obverse. |
| C-B4, Hildebrand B. | Ælfred | London | Reverse. |
| " | Alfwold | Salisbury | " |
| C-B6, Hildebrand E. | Elric = Elfric? | Gloucester | " |
| " | Brithred | London | " |

¹ The pellets are wedge-shaped on these coins.

² One pellet is in front of the helmet, the other is before the chin. The other pellets on the coin are part of the design.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------|
| C-B6, Hildebrand E. | Eadmund ... | London ... | Reverse. |
| " | Godwine ... | " ... | " |
| C-B7, Hildebrand F. | Wulfget ... | Gloucester ... | Obverse. |
| " | Ealdwig ... | Malmesbury ... | " |
| C-B8, Hildebrand H. | Goldman ... | Colchester... | Reverse. |
| C-B9, Hildebrand G. | Liofred ... | Cricklade ... | " |
| " | Sæwan ... | Newport ... | " |
| C-B10, Hildebrand A. | Threodred ... | Hastings ... | " |
| " | Ælfwine ... | Milborne Port ... | " |
| " | Godesbrand ... | Shrewsbury ... | " |

3. THREE PELLETS IN THE FIELD OR ALONG THE CROSS.



FIG. 44.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TYPE 9, WITH THE SYMBOL OF THREE PELLETS ALONG THE CROSS ON THE REVERSE. H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------|
| C-B2, Hildebrand A. | Frome ... | Derby ... | Reverse. |
| C-B3, Hildebrand C. | Ælfwine ... | Southampton ... | Obverse. |
| " | Iola ... | York ... | " |
| C-B6, Hildebrand E. | Wulfward ... | London ... | Reverse. |
| C-B9, Hildebrand G. | Thorstan ... | Norwich ... | " |
| C-B10, Hildebrand A. | Leofword = Leofweard ? | Lewes ... | " |

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

4. THREE PELLETS AND THREE ANNULETS IN THE FIELD.¹



FIG. 45.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH THE SYMBOL OF THREE ANNULETS AND THREE PELLETS ON THE OBTVERSE. MAJOR CARLYON-BRITTON.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------|
| C-B9, Hildebrand G. | Alfwine | Southampton ... | Obverse. |

5. FOUR PELLETS IN THE FIELD, OR ON THE INNER CIRCLE, OR ON A LIMB OF THE CROSS.



FIG. 46.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TYPE 10, WITH THE SYMBOL OF FOUR PELLETS ON THE INNER CIRCLE OF THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

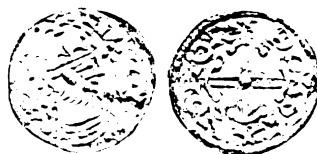
| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|----------|
| C-B6, Hildebrand E. | Efwii = Elfwig or Elfwine ? | London | Reverse. |
| " | Godwine | " | " |
| " | Leofred | " | " |
| C-B7, Hildebrand F. | Brid | Hastings | " |
| C-B8, Hildebrand H. | Blaceman | Guildford | " |
| " | Brid | Hastings | " |

¹ There are other pellets on the obverse, forming part of the design, which is very carelessly engraved.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------------|----------|
| C-B9, Hildebrand G. | Æstan | Buckingham ... | Reverse. |
| " | Thorstan | Norwich | " |
| C-B10, Hildebrand Ac. | Colswegen | Hastings ¹ | " |
| " | Wilegrip | Hertford | " |
| " | Ulf | Lincoln | " |
| " | Godric | Thetford | " |

6. FOUR PELLETS IN FIELD OF OBVERSE AND FOUR PELLETS ALONG THE CROSS ON THE REVERSE.

FIG. 47.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH THE SYMBOL OF FOUR PELLETS ON THE OBVERSE, BEHIND THE BUST, AND FIVE ON THE REVERSE.² MAJOR CARLYON-BRITTON.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|
| C-B9, Hildebrand G. | Thorstan | Norwich | Obverse and Reverse. |

¹ The pellets on this coin are wedge-shaped.² The four pellets on the obverse are possibly, in this case, the head of the sceptre engraved in the wrong place and subsequently rectified, for the coin is of otherwise somewhat careless work. If this is the case, the coin falls into No. 5 group.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

7. CROSS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 48.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH AN ADDITIONAL CROSS ON THE REVERSE.¹ ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------|
| C-B2, Hildebrand A. | Ælfgar ¹ | London | Reverse. |
| C-B9, „ G. | Elfwine | Norwich | „ |

8. TWO CROSSES IN THE FIELD.



FIG 49.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH THE SYMBOL OF TWO ADDITIONAL CROSSES ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------|
| C-B10, Hildebrand A. | Blareman = Blace- man ? | Dorchester ... | Reverse. |

¹ This coin is given in Hildebrand ; but the additional cross may possibly be due to a shifting of the flan in the act of striking the coin.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

9. FOUR CROSSES IN THE FIELD.

FIG. 50.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, WITH THE SYMBOL OF FOUR CROSSES ON THE REVERSE.¹ BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|---------------------|--------------|----------------|----------|
| C-B6, Hildebrand E. | Wulmæ | Shrewsbury ... | Reverse. |

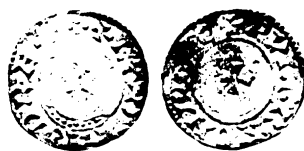
10. ANNULET IN THE FIELD.²

FIG. 51.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TYPE 10, WITH THE SYMBOL OF AN ANNULET ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------|
| C-B2, Hildebrand A. | Godric | Lincoln | Reverse. |
| C-B6, Hildebrand E. | Brunig | Chester | " |
| " | Leofwine | Hastings | " |
| C-B7, Hildebrand F. | Othgrim | Lincoln | " |
| C-B8, Hildebrand H. | Ælfsig | Chester | " |
| C-B9, Hildebrand G. | Ælfric | Exeter | Obverse. |
| " | Wulfric | Lincoln | Reverse. |
| " | Wurcil | " | " |
| C-B10, Hildebrand Ac. | Wulbrn=Wulbern? | " | " |
| " | Aoldin | London | " |

¹ The fourth cross is indistinct owing to the poorness of the coin.² In addition, the annulet is punched in on the reverse of practically all coins of York of types C-B 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (two annulets), 9, 10 and 11.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

II. BAR ACROSS ONE LIMB OF THE CROSS, OR IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 52.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TYPE 10, WITH THE SYMBOL OF A BAR ON THE REVERSE.¹ BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|----------|
| C-B6, Hildebrand E.... | Wulfwine | Stamford | Reverse. |
| C-B7, Hildebrand F. ... | Godric | Ilchester | " |
| C-B9, Hildebrand G.... | Wulwi = Wulfwig or Wulfwine? | Bedford | " |
| " | Ælfric | Exeter | " |
| " | Godric | Ilchester | " |
| " | Ælfwine | Thetford | " |
| " | Blacera | " | " |
| C-B10, Hildebrand Ac. | Sigod | Bedford | " |
| " | Dunning | Hastings | " |
| " | Ælfwine | Thetford | " |

12. TWO BARS IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 53.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TYPE 10, WITH THE SYMBOL OF TWO BARS ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

¹ In this coin the bar joins the top limb of the cross.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| C-B7, Hildebrand F.... | Æthstan = Æstan | Bristol | Reverse. |
| C-B9, Hildebrand G.... | Blareman = Blace- man? | Dorchester | " |
| " | Blacera | Thetford | " |
| " | Sumerd | " | " |
| C-B10, Hildebrand Ac. | Æglwine | Ilchester | " |

13. THREE BARS IN THE FIELD.¹

FIG. 54.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH THE SYMBOL OF THREE BARS. H. A. PARSONS.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| C-B9, Hildebrand G.... | Liofwold | Winchester | Obverse and Reverse. |

14. CRESCENT IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 55.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, TYPE 10, WITH THE SYMBOL OF A CRESCENT ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

¹ Two bars are on the obverse, behind the bust, and one is on the reverse. Probably a mule—not a distinct and separate symbol.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|----------|
| C-B4, Hildebrand B.... | Arngrim | York ¹ | Reverse. |
| C-B9, Hildebrand G.... | Godleof | Thetford | " |
| C-B10, Hildebrand Ac. | Brihtric | Ipswich | " |

15. FOUR CRESCENTS IN THE FIELD OR UPON THE CROSS.



FIG. 16.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH THE SYMBOL OF FOUR CRESCENTS ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|
| C-B10, Hildebrand Ac. | Godric | London | Reverse. |
| " | Wulgar | " | " |
| C-B11, Hildebrand Ib. | Brihtmer | Wallingford | " |

16. CRESCENT AND BAR IN THE FIELD.



FIG. 57.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH THE SYMBOL OF A CRESCENT AND BAR ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|------------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------|
| C-B9, Hildebrand G.... | Brihwi=Brihtwine? | Malmesbury ... | Reverse. |

¹ Bears also the usual annulet mint-mark.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*17. FOUR LETTERS **C** IN THE FIELD.

(See No. 105, Plate III, of the Catalogue of Coins in the Burstal Collection, 1912.)

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------|
| C-B2, Hildebrand A.... | Sæmer | Hertford | Reverse. |

18. LETTER **G** IN THE FIELD.FIG. 58.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER **G** ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|------------------------|----------------|---------------|----------|
| C-B6, Hildebrand E.... | Ælfwine | Wilton | Reverse. |

19. LETTER **Λ** AND CROSS IN THE FIELD.FIG. 59.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR WITH THE SYMBOL OF THE LETTER **Λ** AND A CROSS ON THE REVERSE. BRITISH MUSEUM.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------|
| C-B9, Hildebrand G.... | Biorn | Wareham | Reverse. |

HAROLD II.

I. PELLET IN THE FIELD.

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|--------------|------------|----------|
| Hildebrand A. ... | Brihtric ... | Exeter ... | Obverse. |

2. BAR IN THE FIELD.

(See Lot 400 in the Catalogue of Coins in the O'Hagan Collection, 1907.)

| Type. | Moneyer. | Mint. | Side. |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|----------|
| Hildebrand A. ... | Outhgrim ... | Lincoln ... | Reverse. |

APPENDIX B.

LATE SAXON COINS INSCRIBED WITH COMPOSITE NAMES.

REFERENCES.—Hildebrand = Hildebrand, "*Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm*," 1881; P = H. A. Parsons, "The Coin Types of Æthelred II," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910, and "The Anglian Coins of Harthacnut," *British Numismatic Journal*, 1914; C-B = Major Carlyon-Britton, "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905.

| Reign. | Type. | Moneyer and Mint. | Present rarity of the Types. | Number of Moneyers' Names differentiated by Symbols—see Appendix C. |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---|
| Eadgar ... | Hildebrand C2. ... | No double names known | Rare | Nil |
| Edward the Martyr | Hildebrand A. ... | " " | " | 1 |
| " | " B. ... | " " | One coin known | Nil |
| Æthelred II. | P1, " B. ... | " " | Uncommon | 2 |
| " | P2, " C. ... | " " | Common | 17 |
| " | P3, " E. ... | " " | " | 35 |
| " | P4, " D. ... | " " | " | 36 |
| " | P5, " A. ... | " " | " | 79 |
| Cnut ¹ ... | Hildebrand A. ... | Ælfric Moglu, Norwich | Very rare | 1 |
| " ... | " B. ... | No double names known | " | 1 |
| " ... | Type 1, Hildebrand E. | Lifwi Dya, ² Norwich | Common | 40 |

¹ The first real type of Cnut's reign in England is considered to be Hildebrand's Type E, followed by Hildebrand's Types G, H, I and K. The explanation and place of Hildebrand's Types A, B, C, D and F must be left over for a separate treatise on the coin types of Cnut.

² Somewhat doubtful as a double name.

LATE SAXON COINS INSCRIBED WITH COMPOSITE NAMES—*continued.*

| Reign. | Type. | Moneyer and Mint. | Present rarity of the Types. | Number of Moneyers' Names differentiated by Symbols—see Appendix C. |
|--------|---------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|
| Cnut | ... Type 2, Hildebrand G. | Ælfwine Mus, Ilchester | Common | 10 |
| " | ... " | ... Matathan Balluc, Lincoln | | |
| " | ... " | ... Brungar . . . a, London | | |
| " | ... " | ... Godric C[alic], London | | |
| " | ... Type 3, Hildebrand H. | Edsige Ware, Exeter | Uncommon | 1 |
| " | ... " | ... Godric Swot, Lincoln | | |
| " | ... " | ... Matathan Balluc, Lincoln | | |
| " | ... " | ... Ælfwu Swencel, London | | |
| " | ... " | ... Æstan Loc, Winchester | | |
| " | ... " | ... Godwine Caoc, " | | |
| " | ... " | ... Godwine Cas, " | | |
| " | ... " | ... Godwine Widia, " | | |
| " | ... Type 4, Hildebrand I. | Godric Calic, London | Rare | 1 |
| " | ... " | ... Lefstan Swenc, " | | |
| " | ... " | ... Leofred Brun " | | |
| " | ... " | ... Edwald Thealda, London (The obverse of this coin was struck from one of Harold's dies. It is shown in <i>Hildebrand</i> under Harold I. as Type D, variety a.) | | |
| " | ... " | ... Godwine Ceoca, Winchester | | |

LATE SAXON COINS INSCRIBED WITH COMPOSITE NAMES—*continued.*

| Reign. | Type. | Moneyer and Mint | Present rarity of the Types. | Number of Moneyers' Names differentiated by Symbols—see Appendix C. |
|---------------|---|---|------------------------------|---|
| Cnut . . . | Type 4, Hildebrand I | Godwine Widia, Winchester | Rare | |
| „ . . . | Type 5, Hildebrand K. | Edric Densu Patru, London | Very rare | Nil |
| Harold I. . . | Hildebrand A. . . | Godwine Stewer, London | Rare | Nil |
| „ . . . | „ . . . | Wynsige Wamanea, London | | |
| „ . . . | „ . . . | Godwine Ceoc, Winchester | | |
| „ . . . | „ . . . | Godwine Widia, Winchester | | |
| „ . . . | „ B. . . | Edwald Thealda, London (The reverse of this coin was struck from one of Cnut's dies, <i>Hildebrand</i> , Type I. It is shown in <i>Hildebrand</i> under Harold I. as Type D, variety <i>a.</i>) | A rare variety | 1 |
| Harthacnut | P1 (first regnal period), Hildebrand A. | Godwine Ceoc, Winchester | Very rare | Nil |
| „ . . . | P1 (second regnal period), Hildebrand Aa. | Godwine Ceoc, Winchester | „ | Nil |
| „ . . . | „ . . . | Godwine Wudi, Winchester | | |
| „ . . . | P2 (second regnal period), Hildebrand B. | Conring Cof, Lincoln | „ | Nil |

LATE SAXON COINS INSCRIBED WITH COMPOSITE NAMES—*continued*.

| Reign. | Type. | Moneyer and Mint. | Present rarity of the Types. | Number of Moneyers' Names differentiated by Symbols— see Appen- dix C. |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Harthacnut... | P2(second regnal period), Hilde- brand B. | Godric Calic, London | | |
| " ... | " ... | Leofred Brun, " | | |
| Edward the Confessor | C-B1, Hildebrand C, variety <i>d</i> . | No double names known | Very rare | Nil |
| " ... | C-B2, Hildebrand A. | " " | Uncommon | 7 |
| " ... | C-B3, Hildebrand C. | Godwine Ceoca, Win- chester | " | 6 |
| " ... | C-B4, Hildebrand B. | No double names known | " | 6 |
| " ... | C-B5, Hildebrand D. | " " | Rare | 1 |
| " ... | C-B6, Hildebrand E. | Ælfsie Alda, Chester | Common | 24 |
| " ... | " " | Leofric Cioc, Warwick | | |
| " ... | " " | Æstan Loc, Winchester | | |
| " ... | " " | Godwine Widia, Win- chester | | |
| " ... | " " | Arngrim Loa, York | | |
| " ... | C-B7, Hildebrand F. | Godwine Ceoc, Win- chester | " | 10 |
| " ... | " " | Godwine Widia, Win- chester | " | |
| " .. | C-B8, Hildebrand H. | No double names known | Uncommon | 9 |
| " ... | C-B9, Hildebrand G. | Ælfsie Alda, Chester | Common | 23 |

F

LATE SAXON COINS INSCRIBED WITH COMPOSITE NAMES—*continued.*

| Reign. | Type. | Moneyer and Mint. | Present rarity of the Types. | Number of Moneyers' Names differentiated by Symbols— see Appen- dix C. |
|-------------------------|---|-------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Edward the Confessor | C-B9, Hildebrand G | Lifwine Horn, Rochester | | |
| " | C-B10, Hilde- brand A, var- iety <i>a</i> . | Lifwine Horn, " | Common | 24 |
| " | C-B11, Hilde- brand I, var- iety <i>b</i> . | No double names known | Uncommon | 1 |
| Harold II. ... | Hildebrand A. ... | " " | Rare | 2 |

NOTE.—In addition to the above names, Hildebrand, in the 1846 edition of his catalogue refers to two coins of Cnut struck at Canterbury and Leicester, on which appear the double names Wulfwi Ubi and Snebearn Asnel respectively; but as he does not say to which type the coins belong, they cannot be included in the above list. In the light of modern numismatic knowledge Leicester would probably have to be changed to Chester, and the name Asnel is evidently a misreading of Snell, a well-known moneyer at Chester. Ruding published a misreading of this Leicester or Chester coin, inasmuch as the moneyer's names are given as Snelear Hasnel. Lindsay, in *A View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy* 1842, mentions also a coin of Cnut reading Godwine Cassowi. This is probably the moneyer referred to above, under Cnut, as Godwine Cas of Winchester. The latter coin is now in the author's collection.

APPENDIX C.

MONEYERS' NAMES DIFFERENTIATED BY SYMBOLS.

REFERENCES.—Hildebrand = Hildebrand, "*Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm*," 1881. C-B = Major Carlyon-Britton, "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1905. P = H. A. Parsons, "The Coin Types of Æthelred II," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.

EDWARD THE MARTYR.

| Type. | Mint. | Moneyers' Names. |
|-----------------|-------------|------------------|
| Hildebrand A .. | Stamford .. | Wulfgar. |
| „ B .. | Nil .. | Nil. |

. ÆTHELRED II.

| Type. | Mint. | Moneyers' Names. |
|------------------------|--------------|--|
| P 1, Hildebrand B 2 .. | Cambridge .. | Edric. |
| | London .. | Theodred. |
| P 2, Hildebrand C .. | Cambridge .. | Ælfric, Edric, Sidwine. |
| | Hertford .. | Edwi = Edwig or Edwine. |
| | London .. | Ælfstan, Ælfwine, Eadsige, Eadwine, Godric, Heawulf, Lifing, Osulf, Wulfgar. |
| | Lympne .. | Leofric. |
| | Norwich .. | Eadmund. |
| | Southwark .. | Ælfric. |
| | Thetford .. | Leofwine. |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

| Type. | Mint. | Moneys' Names. |
|----------------------|----------------|--|
| P 3, Hildebrand E .. | Chester .. | Leofnoth. |
| | Hereford .. | Æthelwi = Æthelwine. |
| | Hertford .. | Leofstan. |
| | Lincoln .. | Lofwine, Osferth, Ræierold, Sumerletha, Ulfcetel. |
| | London .. | Ælfwig, Ælfwine, Æthelwerd, Eadmund, Eadsige, Eadwerd, Eadwig, Eadwine, Eadwold, Ealdgar, Ethelred, Goda, Godman, Godric, Godwine, Leofred, Leofstan, Lofwine = Leofwine, Lifing, Osulf, Sweting, Wulfric, Wulfstan. |
| | Thetford .. | Erewine, Manna. |
| | Wareham .. | Oda. |
| | York .. | Colgrim, Thorstan. |
| P 4, Hildebrand D .. | Barnstaple .. | Byrhsige. |
| | Exeter .. | Dunstan, Wulfsige. |
| | Huntingdon .. | Osgut. |
| | Lincoln .. | Dreng, Osgut, Outhgrim, Sumerletha, Unbein, Wulmær. |
| | London .. | Ælfwine, Æthelwerd, Brunstan, Eadmund, Eadwold, Godman, Godric, Godwine, Leofnoth, Leofstan, Leofwine, Lifing, Osmund, Osulf, Wulfwine. |
| | Norwich .. | Hwateman. |
| | Stamford .. | Godæg. |
| | Wallingford .. | Alfwold. |
| | York .. | Arnthur, Hildulf, Leofstan, Oda, Othgrim, Sumerletha, Thurstan, Ulfcetel. |
| P 5, Hildebrand A .. | Bedford .. | Godric, Leofwine. |
| | Cambridge .. | Wulfsige. |
| | Canterbury .. | Godric. |

ÆTHELRED II—continued.

| Type. | Mint. | Moneyers' Names. |
|----------------------|---------------|--|
| P 5, Hildebrand A .. | Chester .. | Leofwine. |
| | Colchester .. | Elfwine, Godric, Leofstan. |
| | Dover .. | Godman. |
| | Hastings .. | Eadsige. |
| | Ipswich .. | Siwold. |
| | Lewes .. | Liofwine. |
| | Lincoln . .. | Æthelmær, Æthelnoth, Bruntat, Dreng, Eadmund, Grim, Justan, Leofric, Leofwine, Levig, Osferth, Sumerletha, Ulfcetel, Wulbern, Wulfric. |
| | London .. | Brihtwold, Edwine, Godman, Leof- noth, Lifing, Osmund, Wulfred, Wulfwine. |
| | Lydford .. | Bruna, Goda. |
| | Lympne .. | Æthelstan. |
| | Newark .. | Leofwine. |
| | Norwich .. | Hwateman. |
| | Nottingham .. | Oswold. |
| | Sidbury .. | Godrine. |
| | Southampton | Leofwine, Leofwold, Wulfnoth. |
| | Stamford .. | Æscman, Æscwig, Æthelwine, Ælf- wald, Godæg, Godeleof, Godric, Hild, Leofwine, Swertbrand, Swert- gar, Wulcar, Wulfgar, Wulfstan. |
| | Thetford .. | Æthelwold, Edric, Edwine, Elfwine, Fæsthulf, Leofthegn, Manna, Wæl- gith, Wulfnoth. |
| | Winchester .. | Ælfstan, Duda, Godman, Leofsuna, Leofwold, Odea, Siboda, Swileman. |
| | Worcester .. | Martin. |
| | York .. | Thorstan, Wulfsige. |

CNUT.

| Type. | Mint. | Moneyers' Names. |
|-----------------|------------------|--|
| Hildebrand A | .. London .. | Brihtnoth. |
| Hildebrand B | .. Bath .. | Elfric. |
| Hildebrand E | .. Bristol .. | Ethstan. |
| | .. Cambridge .. | Wulfsig. |
| | .. Chester .. | Ælfsig, Elfwine, Gunleof, Leofnoth, Macsuthan. |
| | .. Gloucester .. | Godric, Godwine, Leofsige, Sired. |
| | .. Hastings .. | Elst. |
| | .. Hereford .. | Elfwine. |
| | .. Huntingdon .. | Ælfnoth. |
| | .. Ilchester .. | Oswig. |
| | .. Lincoln .. | Aslac, Justan, Matethan, Osferth, Osgut, Sumerletha. |
| | .. London .. | Bruman, Eadwerd, Elfwine, Godric, Godwine, Leofric. |
| | .. Norwich .. | Efic, Manna. |
| | .. Nottingham .. | Bruning, Oswold. |
| | .. Salisbury .. | Seran. |
| | .. Southwark .. | Ælfgar, Wulfic. |
| | .. Stamford .. | Æscman, Capelin, Swertbrand |
| | .. Sudbury .. | Mansige. |
| | .. Thetford .. | Sprunt. |
| | .. Winchester .. | Swileman. |
| Hildebrand G | .. Lincoln .. | Brihtric, Lifing, Matethan, Swerting. |
| | .. Salisbury .. | Goldus. |
| | .. Stamford .. | Capelin, Eadwine. |
| | .. York .. | Crum, Fargrim, Frithcol. |
| Hildebrand H. . | .. York .. | Grimulf. |
| Hildebrand I .. | .. Exeter .. | Dodda |

HAROLD I.

| Type. | Mint. | Moneyer's Name. |
|-----------------|---------|-----------------|
| Hildebrand B .. | Bath .. | Wædel. |

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

| Type. | Mint. | Moneyers' Names. |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| C-B 1, Hild. C, var. d. | Nil .. | Nil. |
| C-B 2, Hildebrand A.. | Derby .. | Enric, Frome, Godric. |
| | Hertford .. | Sæmer. |
| | Lincoln .. | Godric. |
| | London .. | Ælfgar. |
| | Winchester .. | Lifing. |
| C-B 3, Hildebrand C.. | Exeter .. | Lifing. |
| | Huntingdon .. | Ælfwine. |
| | Lincoln .. | Godric. |
| | Nottingham .. | Blacman. |
| | Southampton | Ælfwine. |
| | York .. | Iola. |
| C-B 4, Hildebrand B.. | Dorchester .. | Wulstan. |
| | Lincoln .. | Godric. |
| | London .. | Ælfred, Lifing. |
| | Salisbury .. | Alfwold. |
| | York .. | Arngrim. |
| C-B 5, Hildebrand D.. | Bedford .. | Drsiie. |
| C-B 6, Hildebrand E.. | Bedford .. | Ælfric. |
| | Chester .. | Brunig. |
| | Colchester .. | Brihtric, Leofwerd. |
| | Exeter .. | Lifing. |

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

| Type. | Mint. | Moneys' Names. |
|-----------------------|----------------|--|
| C-B 6, Hildebrand E.. | Gloucester .. | Elfric. |
| | Hastings .. | Brid, Leofwine. |
| | Lincoln .. | Godric. |
| | London .. | Brithred, Eadmund, Efwii = Elfwig or Elfwine, Godwine, Leofred, Wulfred, Wulfward. |
| | Shaftesbury .. | Wulfric. |
| | Shrewsbury .. | Wulmær. |
| | Stamford .. | Wulfwine. |
| | Warwick .. | Leofric-Cioc, Luffing. |
| | Wilton .. | Ælfwine. |
| | Winchester .. | Godwine, Leofwine. |
| C-B 7, Hildebrand F.. | Bristol .. | Æstan. |
| | Gloucester .. | Julferd, Wulfget. |
| | Hastings .. | Brid, Dunning. |
| | Ilchester .. | Godric. |
| | Lincoln .. | Othgrim. |
| | Malmesbury .. | Ealdwig. |
| | Rochester .. | Godwine. |
| C-B 8, Hildebrand H.. | Wallingford .. | Burewine. |
| | Chester .. | Ælfsig. |
| | Colchester .. | Goldman. |
| | Guildford .. | Blaceman. |
| | Hastings .. | Brid. |
| | Lewes .. | Eadwerd. |
| | London .. | Dereman. |
| | Ronney .. | Wulmær. |
| | Rochester .. | Lifstan. |
| C-B 9, Hildebrand G.. | Taunton .. | Brihtric. |
| | Bath .. | Osmær. |
| | Bedford .. | Wulfwi = Wulfwig or Wulfwine. |

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR—*continued.*

| Type. | Mint. | Moneyers' Names. |
|--------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| C-B 9, Hildebrand G.. | Buckingham .. | Æstan. |
| | Cricklade .. | Liofred. |
| | Dorchester .. | Blaceman. |
| | Exeter .. | Ælfric. |
| | Hastings .. | Dunning. |
| | Ilchester .. | Godric. |
| | Lincoln .. | Wulfric, Wurci!. |
| | Malmesbury .. | Brihtwine. |
| | Newport .. | Sæwan. |
| | Norwich .. | Elfwine, Thorstan. |
| | Romney .. | Wulmær. |
| | Southampton | Alfwine, Sæwin. |
| | Thetford .. | Blacere, Elfwine, Godleof, Sumerd. |
| | Wareham .. | Biorn. |
| | Winchester .. | Liofwold. |
| C-B 10, Hild. A, var. c. | Bedford .. | Leofthege, Sigod. |
| | Cambridge .. | Eadwerd. |
| | Dorchester .. | Blaceman. |
| | Hastings .. | Colswegen, Dunning, Threodred. |
| | Hertford .. | Wilegrip. |
| | Ilchester .. | Æglwine. |
| | Ipswich .. | Brihtric. |
| | Lewes .. | Leofweard. |
| | Lincoln .. | Ulf, Wulbern. |
| | London .. | Aoldin, Godric, Wulgar. |
| | Maldon .. | Godwine. |
| | Milborne Port | Ælfwine. |
| | Romney .. | Wulmær. |
| | Shrewsbury .. | Godesbrand. |
| | Thetford .. | Ælfwine, Godric. |
| C-B 11, Hild. I, var. b | Wallingford .. | Brand. |
| | Winchester .. | Leofwold. |
| C-B 11, Hild. I, var. b | Wallingford .. | Brihtmer. |

HAROLD II.

| Type. | Mint. | Moneyers' Names. |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Hildebrand A | Exeter Lincoln | Brihtric. Outhgrim. |



1. Type I, die 2; lis.

2. 1a, 2; lis.

3. 1a, 4; cross.

4. 1a, 1; negro.



5. 1a, 3; castle.

6. 1b, 1; lis.

7. 1b, 1; castle.

8. II, 1; heart.

CHARLES I.—HALF CROWNS OF THE TOWER MINT.

PLATE I.

SILVER COINS OF THE TOWER MINT OF CHARLES I.

BY GRANT R. FRANCIS.

CHAPTER II.

THE HALF-CROWNS.

WHEN I read a paper before this Society on the Tower crowns of Charles I, the President did me the honour to suggest that it should be followed by a similar paper on the contemporary half-crown issues from the Tower.

The former paper included descriptions of almost all, if not indeed all, the known varieties of the dies used for the crown pieces at the Tower ; as, although a most interesting piece in the British Museum was subsequently brought to my notice by Miss Farquhar, and was commented upon in an appendix to the original paper, which appears in the Society's *Journal*, it is very doubtful whether the crown in question was issued as a current coin, or was merely a trial-piece struck from old implements. With this exception, no specimen of a crown from any die differing from the 43 varieties described in my paper has been revealed by a close examination of a large number of additional coins.

For the present paper I fear that I can make no such claim to completeness. The great number of minor varieties that exist in most of the issues, and the excessive rarity of some of them, the paucity of descriptions, as compared with the crowns, given in sale catalogues, and the much greater number of the half-crowns that were issued, makes it a matter of certainty that many more

varieties than I am now about to describe must exist. This paper, therefore, must be considered as only providing a preliminary list, to which it will be necessary to add considerably in the future.

To follow the line of the previous paper, I am again taking Hawkins' description of the types as the basis on which to found my catalogue of the dies ; and as previously done, I am numbering the varieties discovered, but in order that additions may be made from time to time as they come to light, I propose to number the varieties of each mint-mark afresh from 1, instead of numbering the whole of the issues consecutively from the first die to the last.

To do this satisfactorily, I propose to add at the end of my published remarks a complete table showing a list of the varieties noted.

Type 1 closely followed the type of the crown in its general appearance and design, the only marked difference being in the case of the well-known coin with the crowned rose upon the housings of the horse. This device was a continuation of one of the King's predecessor, and leads to the conviction that these were the earliest dies made, and that the coins were struck before the type of the crown was settled, when naturally the half-crowns would, and did, follow the previous coin of the same denomination. We must, therefore, depart slightly from Hawkins, and refrain from describing this coin as belonging to Type 1a, but consider it a type in itself as 1.

The King's figure differs very slightly from that on the crown, and the coin has the same characteristics of the plume upon the crupper, and the very long sword which cuts the inner circle and even goes farther and divides the King's name after the letter A. Other points of difference are that the horse appears upon a ground line, again following the type of James I, and that the King is seated much more upright in his saddle than is the case either in the crown, or in the half-crowns from subsequent dies. The slovenly divisions of the words of the legend on the reverse, which were noted in the case of the crowns, appear in the lesser denomination, and there would seem to have been more than one die both of obverse and

reverse. The principal points of variation to be noted are: the different abbreviations of the King's titles, and the marks of contraction, which sometimes take the form of a semicolon, inverted, or note of exclamation, sometimes that of colons or double pellets, and on other specimens appear as full-stops; whilst on the reverse, besides the mint-mark being placed sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left of the cross fourchée, the latter, so long as it continues to extend through the inner circle of the device, divides the legend in several different ways. Finally, the Irish Harp in the Royal Arms, throughout the whole of the series of the half-crowns, takes no fewer than sixteen different forms, which are illustrated in a plate and numbered consecutively in the order in which they may be presumed to have appeared.

These varieties would appear to have occurred entirely according to the idea of the engraver, but may at some future time help in fixing the sequence of the issues of the coins which show them. The only mint-mark found in Type 1 is the lis.

Type 1*a* is similar to Type 1, but the decoration of the housings is without the rose, and has an ornamental scroll similar to that on the crown; the King's figure is not so upright, the left leg being thrown forward, and the sword does not divide the name, but penetrates the inner circle, as does also, in some cases, the plume on the horse's head. There is no ground line under the horse. The reverse still has a square shield, and shows the cross fourchée dividing the legend. The mint-marks are the lis, cross calvary, negro's head, and castle.

Type 1*b*.—The obverse is identical with that of Type 1*a*, but is coupled with a reverse showing a plume over the shield of arms to denote that the metal from which the coins were struck was obtained in the Welsh silver mines, and on these coins the cross fourchée disappears. The mint-marks are the lis, cross calvary, negro's head, castle, anchor, and heart.

Type 2 is similar to the crown of Type 2 with smaller horse and rider, the latter carrying his sword over his shoulder, and the reverse has the plume and C R over an oval shield. For the reason

explained in the paper on the Tower crowns, I depart here from Hawkins' enumeration and call this Type 2 instead of 2*b*. A variety of extreme rarity exists in the first coin described, with the mint-mark heart, which is probably a pattern, as this coin, though having the obverse of Type 2, has the reverse with square shield, similar to Type 1. The mint-marks are the heart, plume, and rose.

Type 2*a* is exactly similar to the plume and rose coins of Type 2, except that no Welsh plume appears above the shield. The mint-marks are the plume and rose.

Type 2*b* is somewhat similar to 2*a*, but has the shield on the reverse differently garnished, and has the central Welsh plume over the shield. Mint-mark harp only.

Type 2*c* is similar to Type 2*b*, but has a larger shield of arms on the reverse and now shows the C R at the sides instead of above the shield. This type does not correspond with any of the crown reverses. The mint-marks are the harp and portcullis.

Type 3*a*.—The plume upon the horse's head is now removed, the King's scarf is more pronounced, and he holds his sword upright instead of carried on his shoulder, as was the case in the crowns of this issue. On the reverse the shield now becomes round, and the C R at the sides disappears entirely. The mint-marks are the bell, crown, and tun.

Type 3*b*.—It should be observed here, as mentioned in the paper on the Tower crowns, that chronologically each coin of 3*b* should follow the coin with the same mint-mark described under 3*a*, as they were issued concurrently, but it will perhaps be more convenient, in the case of the half-crowns, to keep them separate under their different types, and not adopt the plan formerly followed, which was necessitated by the crowns with portcullis mint-mark departing from the general type of the half-crowns with that mint-mark, which latter displayed no Welsh plume on the reverse as the crown did. The coins of this type are similar to those of Type 3*a*, except that they have the Welsh plume over the shield on



1. Type II, die 2; rose.



2. IIa, 1; plume.



3. IIa, 5; rose.



4. IIb, 1; harp.



5. IIc, 1; harp.



6. IIc, 8; portcullis.



7. IIIa, 3; crown.



1. IIIa, 10; crown.



CHARLES I.—HALF CROWNS OF THE TOWER MINT.

PLATE II.

the reverse. The mint-marks are the portcullis, bell, crown, and tun.

Type 3*c*.—In this type we must depart from Hawkins' numbering, as the following coins have an obverse which is quite different from his Type 3*a* or 3*b*, although with somewhat similar characteristics. The King's horse is more clumsily drawn, with its head slightly turned towards the spectator, and the King's cloak flies from his shoulders instead of being merely a sash or scarf tied round the waist. The mint-marks are tun, anchor (upright and horizontal), and triangle, without ground under horse; the following, which are of similar type, have a still coarser appearance: mint-marks triangle with ground under the horse, star, with similar ground; (P), (R), eye, and sun. It should be noted in connection with the last four named mint-marks of this type, that they follow Type 4 with mint-mark star, triangle-in-circle, and (P), in chronological order, and that Type 3*c* was reverted to during the period when (P) was the current mint-mark. They are put here for the sake of clearness.

In the case of the coins with the mint-marks triangle and star, a puncheon for the figure in the obverse die was undoubtedly used in the Tower which was also used for the half-crowns of the Aberystwith mint, the first and second coins described with the mint-mark triangle, and the first coin with the mint-mark star over triangle, being identical with the Aberystwith half-crown, Lot 119, as illustrated in the Cumberland Clark sale catalogue. These coins are of the greatest rarity, and the second described is the original die of No. 1 with the mint-mark star struck over the triangle.

Type 4 is very similar to the crown of Type 4, and has the horse's mane extended in front of the chest and his tail between his legs; the King's sword is long, and extends to the outer circle, and his scarf flies in two ends from the centre of the back. The later coins with the triangle-in-circle mint-mark show the sword somewhat shorter, and only just cutting the inner circle. As was stated above, this type appears to have been issued in the middle of Type 3*c*, as the star mint-mark was issued on June 26, 1640, and that

of the triangle-in-circle followed it on July 15, 1641. The mint-marks are star, triangle-in-circle and (P).

Type 5 is very similar in design to the crown of Type 5, apparently by Rawlings, but the horse shows no mane in front of his chest, though his tail flows behind and is not between his legs as also was the case in the crowns. The mint-marks are the sun and sceptre, and there is a mule of the two.

In all, there are noted in the following descriptions 157 differing half-crowns issued from the Tower mint, and doubtless many more will be discovered as time goes on.

In closing these preliminary notes on the half-crown, I must not omit to tender my grateful thanks to Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson and Mr. W. B. Thorpe for their kindness and assistance in comparing the coins in their collections with mine, and for the loan of some of the President's choicest pieces with which to illustrate this chapter; all the plumed coins illustrated, with the exception of those with the mint-marks rose and crown, are from Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson's fine collection.

HARPS.

The following short description of the variants in the shape of the Irish harp may be useful for reference and they are illustrated in a special plate reproduced from drawings by the author.

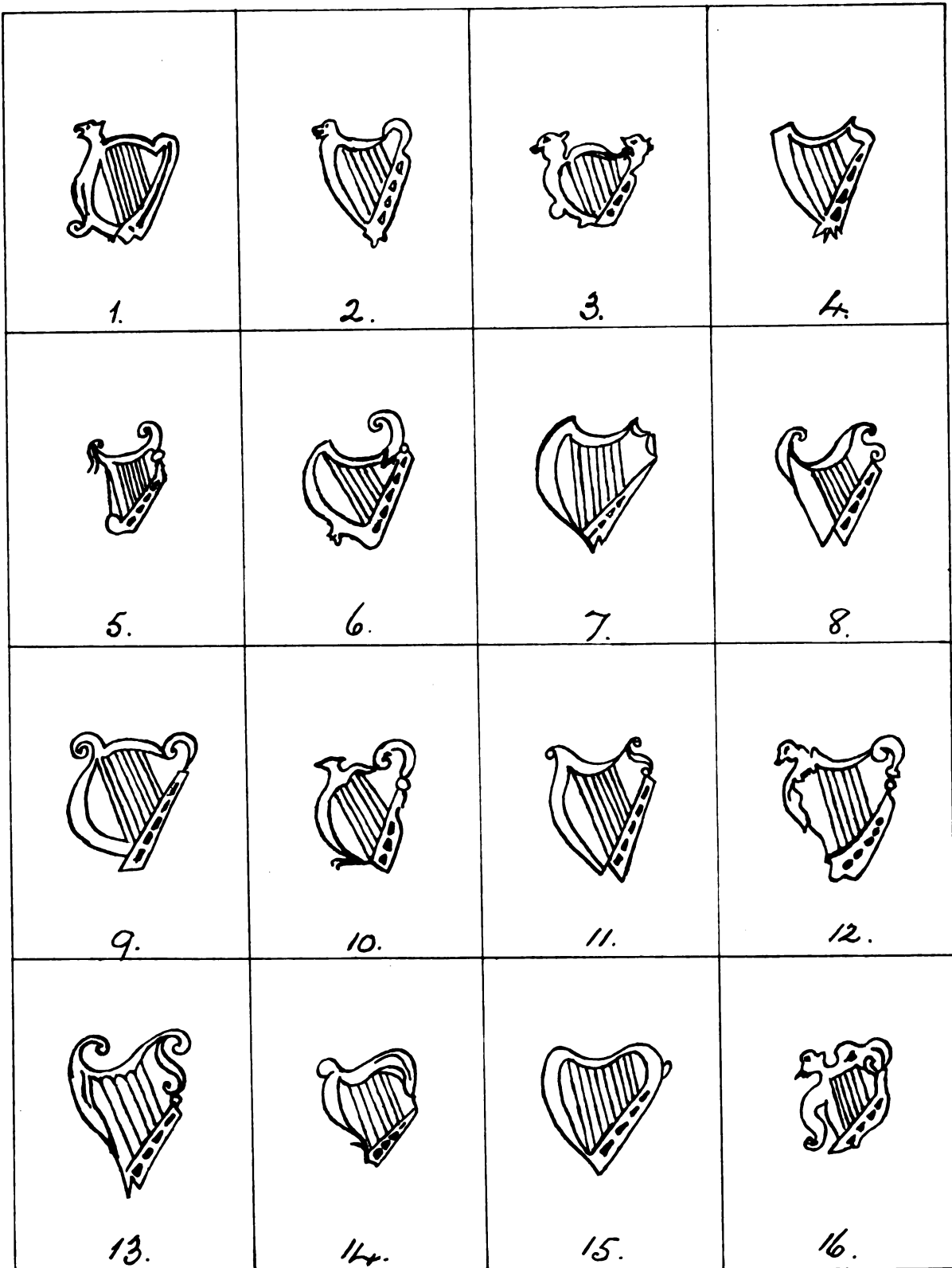
No. 1 has a small bird's head and a curl in front. It appears, with but one exception in each case, throughout Types 1, 1a and 1b.

No. 2.—Omits the curl in front, has a less ferocious bird's head and a different shaped foot. It provides the one exception mentioned above, in Types 1 and 1a, and so far I have not found it on any other coin in the half-crown series, but it appears on one or two shillings of the mint-mark lis.

No. 3 has not yet been found on a half-crown, but may possibly exist in this denomination. It occurs on one or two shillings with the mint-mark cross calvary and on some gold coins.

No. 4 has a rounded front with a flat head and a scroll on the

[To face p. 80.]



FORMS OF THE HARP IN THE FOURTH QUARTER OF THE SHIELD.

top at the right. It provides the exception in Type 1*b*, and is in general use in Type 2.

No. 5 has a flat front with small curl to the right on the left top and a large curl to the left on the right top. It occurs seldom in the half-crowns, though commoner in the shillings; one half-crown in 2*a* and one in 2*c* have so far been found with this harp.

No. 6 is a slight variation of the last. The front is bowed instead of flat and it has no curl on the left front. It occurs on a half-crown of Type 2*a*.

No. 7 is similar to No. 4, but has a different head and a more rounded front. This also occurs only on one or two coins of Type 2*a*.

No. 8 has a curved front, with top curl turned over to the right, and the scroll top on the right similar to No. 4. It is the common harp of Type 2*c*.

No. 9 is also common in Type 2*c* with mint-mark portcullis. It has a curled-over front to the head and a large curl at the back.

No. 10 is similar, but has a flat head and a curious foot projection. It occurs on one or two half-crowns in Types 3*a* and 3*b*.

No. 11 is often difficult to distinguish from No. 7, the variation being in the shape of the head. It is the common harp throughout Type 3*c*.

No. 12 is seldom found, and so far only on coins with mint-mark triangle struck over the anchor, so that it must also have occurred on coins with the anchor mint-mark. It has a well-shaped eagle's head.

No. 13 is fairly common in Type 3*c* with triangle and star mint-marks. It has a curl to the right at the top left and a scroll ornament at top right, and is similar to No. 8.

No. 14 is a debased copy of No. 11, and may easily be mistaken for it. It is found chiefly on the (R) and star half-crowns.

No. 15 is a still coarser copy of Nos. 11 and 14, and occurs only on some coins with mint-mark (R).

No. 16 appears to be a rough copy of either No. 1 or No. 3, and appears on a few coins of Type 4 with mint-mark star, and on all coins of Type 5.

G

EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE TABLES OF VARIETIES WHICH FOLLOW.

These tables are headed with the Type and Mint-mark varieties and the dates of issue of the latter and are divided into columns which show the various die varieties of each Type and Mint-mark. The Types are based on Hawkins' enumeration of them with such additions and modifications as have been noted in the context and rendered necessary by discoveries since his valuable work was written.

The first column shows the number of the die (starting from No. 1 in each different Type and Mint-mark) in the order of the longest obverse legend discovered down to the shortest.

The second column shows the presence or absence of pellets by the Mint-mark, and whether those pellets are to the left or right of the Mint-mark, or both sides of it.

The third column shows the different abbreviations of the King's territorial titles (of which there are 17 wordings), and these are numbered 1 to 17 on the list below.

There are also five different ways of abbreviating those titles, which are used throughout the series, and to identify these the letters "a" to "e" are used in conjunction with the figure which denotes the actual lettering; thus a coin which reads MAG·BRI·FRA·ET HI·REX will (if the following table is referred to) be found to be legend 7c, whereas if it had the addition of the pellet after the word ET it would be classed as legend 7b.

| | |
|---|--|
| No. 1. MAG ! BRIT ! FRAN ! ET·HIB ! REX | 1a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET 1b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET 1c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET 1d. Same, but : stops, pellet after ET 1e. Same, : stops, no pellet after ET |
| No. 2. MAG ! BRIT ! FRAN ! ET·HI ! REX | (No varieties of stops in this reading yet found.) |
| No. 3. MAG ! BRIT ! FRA ! ET·HIB ! REX | 3a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET 3d. Same, but : stops, pellet after ET |
| No. 4. MAG ! BRIT ! FRA ! ET·HI ! REX | 4c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET |
| No. 5. MAG ! BRIT ! FR ! ET·HIB ! REX | (No varieties of stops in this reading yet found.) |

- | | |
|---|--|
| No. 6. MAG ! BRI ! FRA ! ET · HIB ! REX | 6a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET |
| | 6b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET |
| No. 7. MAG ! BRI ! FRA ! ET · HI ! REX | 7b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET |
| | 7c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET |
| No. 8. MAG ! BRI ! FR ! ET · HIB ! REX | 8a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET |
| | 8b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET |
| | 8c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET |
| No. 9. MAG ! BRI ! FR ! ET · HI ! REX | 9b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET |
| No. 10. MAG ! BR ! FRA ! ET · HIB ! REX | (No varieties of stops in this reading yet found.) |
| No. 11. MAG ! BR ! FRA ! ET · HI ! REX | (No varieties of stops in this reading yet found.) |
| No. 12. MAG ! BR ! FR ! ET · HIB ! REX | 12a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET |
| | 12b. Same, pellet stops, pellet after ET |
| | 12d. Same, but : stops, pellet after ET |
| | 12e. Same, : stops, no pellet after ET |
| No. 13. MAG ! BR ! FR ! ET · HI ! REX | 13a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET |
| | 13c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET |
| | 13e. Same, : stops, no pellet after ET |
| No. 14. MA ! BR ! FR ! ET · HIB ! REX | 14a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET |
| | 14c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET |
| | 14e. Same, : stops, no pellet after ET |

No. 15. MA ! BR ! FR ! ET · HI ! REX

15a. Same, ! stops, no pellet after ET

15c. Same, pellet stops, none after ET

15e. Same, : stops, no pellet after ET

No. 16. M ! BR ! FR ! ET · HIB ! REX

(No varieties of stops in this reading yet found.)

No. 17. M ! BR ! FR ! ET · HI ! REX

(No varieties of stops in this reading yet found.)

The fourth column gives any special remarks on the obverse design of the coin.

The next three columns refer to the reverse only, the fifth column giving the pellets by the Mint-mark, the sixth the variety of the Harps as numbered on the plate illustrating those varieties, and the last column any remarks on the reverse design and legend on the coin.

All the coins enumerated are in the Author's collection, except where the ownership is otherwise indicated in the reverse remarks column.

HALF-CROWNS OF THE TOWER MINT OF CHARLES I.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND DIE DIFFERENCES.

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE I.—King in ruff, plume on horse's head and crupper, rose on housings, ground line.
Mint-mark lis, issued July 7th, 1625.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|----|--|------|---|---|
| 1 | ·L·R | 8b | Sword cuts circle, and divides name, CA ROLVS | ·L·R | 1 | CHRIS / TO·AVS / PICE·R / EGNO British Museum. |
| 2 | ·L·R | 9b | Do. (Fig. 1, Pl. 1.) | Nil | 1 | CHRI / STOAV / SPICE / REGNO mint-mark to right of cross, harp high up in the field. No stops in legend. |
| 3 | ·L·R | 9b | Obverse of No. 2. | Nil | 2 | Reverse divided as No. 1. |
| 4 | Nil | 9b | | Nil | 1 | Harp in centre of field. No stops in legend. Dudman Sale, Lot 401. |



1. Type IIIa, die 3; tun. 2. IIa, 1; portcullis. 3. IIIb, 1; bell. 4. IIIb, 3; bell.



5. IIIb, 1; crown. 6. IIIb, 1; tun. 7. IIIc, 1; tun. 8. IIIc, 1; anchor.

CHARLES I.—HALF CROWNS OF THE TOWER MINT.

PLATE III.

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE 1a.—Similar to Type 1, but there is no rose on the housings, and no ground line under the horse.

Mint-mark lis.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|---|------|---|--|
| 1 | ·L·R | 7b | Sword cuts circle, but not the name. | ·L·R | 1 | Pellet before and after CHRISTO, and an extra one before REGNO Col. Morrieson. |
| 2 | ·L·R | 7b | Sword cuts circle, and divides name C AROLVS (Fig. 2, Pl. 1.) | Nil | 2 | CHRI / STO·AV / SPICE / REGNO· |
| 3 | ·L·R | 13c | Sword as No. 1. | Nil | 1 | CHRI / STOAV / SPICE / REGNO No stops in legend. |
| 4 | ·L·R | 13c | Stop after CAROLVS· | ·L | 1 | No pellet in legend, which is as No. 3 Murdoch, Lot 126. |

TYPE 1a.—The horse is now rather clumsier and the reverse shield has no cross fourchée. Mint-mark cross calvary, issued June 29th, 1626.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|----------------------------------|------|---|--|
| 1 | ·R | 4c | Mentioned by Hawkins | | | |
| 2 | ·L | 7c | Sword and head cut inner circle. | Nil | 1 | No pellet between words. Murdoch, Lot 127. |
| 3 | ·L | 13c | Do. | Nil | 1 | No pellet between words. |
| 4 | ·L·R | 13c | (Fig. 3, Pl. 1.) | ·L·R | 1 | Do. |

TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark negro's head, issued June 29th, 1626.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|------------------|------|---|-----------------|
| 1 | ·L | 7c | (Fig. 4, Pl. 1.) | ·L·R | 1 | Col. Morrieson. |
|---|----|----|------------------|------|---|-----------------|

TYPE 1a.—Mint-mark castle, issued April 27th, 1627.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|-------------------------------------|------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | ·L·R | 8c | | ·L·R | 1 | British Museum. |
| 2 | ·R | 12b | Mint-mark struck over negro's head. | ·L | 1 | No stops in legend. Col. Morrieson. |
| 3 | ·L·R | 12c | (Fig. 5, Pl. 1.) | ·L | 1 | Reverse of No. 2. Col. Morrieson. |

TYPE 1b.—Obverse identical with 1a, but reverse has the plume denoting Welsh Silver over the shield.

Mint-mark lis.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|------------------|-----|---|--|
| 1 | ·L·R | 14a | (Fig. 6, Pl. 1.) | Nil | 1 | Mint-mark to right of plume. No stops in legend. Col. Morrieson. |
| 2 | ·R | 15c | | Nil | 1 | No stops in legend. British Museum. |

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE 1b.—Mint-mark cross calvary.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|-----|--|------|---|--|
| 1 | •L | 7e | | Nil | 1 | No stops in legend. British Museum. |
| 2 | •L | 13e | | •L•R | 1 | Mint-mark to right of plume. Col. Morrieson. |

TYPE 1b.—Mint-mark negro's head.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|-----|--|----|---|-----------------|
| 1 | •L | 12e | | •R | 1 | British Museum. |
|---|----|-----|--|----|---|-----------------|

TYPE 1b.—Mint-mark castle.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|--|------|---|--|
| 1 | •L•R | 8a | Mint-mark struck over the negro's head. (Fig. 7, Pl. 1.) | •L•R | 1 | Col. Morrieson. |
| 2 | •L | 12e | | •L | 1 | Mint-mark to right of plume. British Museum, and Col. Morrieson. |
| 3 | ? | 14c | | ? | ? | Mentioned by Hawkins. |

TYPE 1b.—Mint-mark anchor, issued July 3rd, 1628.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|--|-----|---|---|
| 1 | •L•R | 13e | | Nil | 4 | Smaller central plume than previous mint-marks. No stops in legend. British Museum. |
| 2 | ? | 15c | | ? | ? | Cumberland Clark Sale, lot 106. |

TYPE 2.—Obverse similar to the Crown of Type 2. Reverse (in this case only) shows the plume over a square shield.

Mint-mark heart, issued June 26th, 1629.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|---|------|---|---|
| 1 | •L•R | 15a | Appears to have a rose partly obliterated on the housings, instead of a cross—a unique coin, probably a pattern. (Fig. 8, Pl. 1.) | •L•R | 4 | Reverse has the plume over a square shield, and thus differs from all the other known coins with this obverse. Ruding XIX2. British Museum. |
|---|------|-----|---|------|---|---|

TYPE 2.—Reverse has the Welsh plume over oval shield.

Mint-mark plume, issued June 23rd, 1630.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|--|--------|---|--|
| 1 | ? | 5 | | ? | ? | Mentioned as having been in the Rashleigh Collection, but this coin was not sold when it was dispersed. Hawkins. |
| 2 | •R | 7 | | •L•:•R | 4 | A badly worn coin. Groups of seven pellets in legend. British Museum. |

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|--|-------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|---|
| TYPE 2.—Mint-mark rose, issued June 30th, 1631. | | | | | | |
| 1 | •L•R | 5 | Same die as No. 1, Type 2a. | •L•R | 4 | Groups of 5 pellets in legend. British Museum. |
| 2 | •:•L•:•R | 5 | (Fig. 1, Pl. 2.) | •L•R | 4 | Mint-mark to left of plume. Extra pellet before CHRISTO and before C of C R |
| 3 | •:•L•:•R | 5 | From die of No. 2. | •L•R | 4 | |
| 4 | •L•R | 12 | | •L•R | 4 | Reverse of No. 2. British Museum. |

TYPE 2a.—Similar to the Crown, 2a, without plume over shield of reverse.
Mint-mark plume.

| | | | | | | |
|---|--------|----|------------------|----------|---|---|
| 1 | •:•L•R | 1a | (Fig. 2, Pl. 2.) | •:•:•L•R | 8 | This reverse appears to be struck from an altered die, which once had a plume over the shield, and the old Mint-mark (which would be to the left of the plume) taken out, and 7 pellets substituted, the new Mint-mark taking the place of the central plume. |
| 2 | •L | 1a | | •R | | Groups of 7 pellets in legend. Pellet each side of shield and C R |
| 3 | Nil | 1a | | Nil | ? | Col. Morrieson and British Museum. |
| 4 | •L | 3 | | •:•L•:•R | 6 | Three pellets in field each side of shield. Murdoch, lot 130. |
| 5 | •L•R | 5 | | Nil | ? | Groups of 5 pellets in legend, 3 pellets after C and before R |
| 6 | •L•R | 6 | | | | Probably from the die of No. 3. |
| 7 | •L•R | 6 | Obverse of No. 6 | •L•R | ? | Murdoch, lot 130. |
| | | | | | | Groups of 5 pellets in legend, single pellet before wording, and each side of and between C R |
| | | | | | | British Museum. |

TYPE 2a.—Mint-mark rose.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|----|-----------------------|--------|---|---|
| 1 | •L•R | 5 | Die of No. 1, Type 2. | •:•L•R | 7 | May be an overstruck coin over the plume. |
| 2 | •L•R | 5 | Obverse die of No. 1. | •L•R | 7 | British Museum. |
| 3 | •L•R | 5 | Do. | Nil | | No stops in legend. |
| 4 | •L•R | 12 | | Nil | | Col. Morrieson. |
| 5 | •L•R | 12 | Obverse of No. 4. | •:•L•R | 5 | Reverse of No. 3. |
| | | | (Fig. 3, Pl. 2.) | | | Pellet each side of and between C R |

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE 2b.—Similar, but with plume over reverse shield, which is differently garnished, and has C R now at the sides. This type and the following do not correspond with any of the Crown reverses.

Mint-mark harp, issued June 21st, 1632.

| | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-----|------------------|-------------|---|---|
| 1 | · · · L · R | 12a | (Fig. 4, Pl. 2.) | · · · L · R | 8 | Mint-mark to left of plume, comma before CHRISTO and after words. Col. Morrieson and British Museum. |
|---|-------------|-----|------------------|-------------|---|---|

TYPE 2c.—Similar to 2b, but there is no plume over shield of reverse.
Mint-mark harp.

| | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-----|----------------------------|---------|---|--|
| 1 | · L · R | 3a | (Fig. 5, Pl. 2.) | Nil | 8 | No stops in legend. |
| 2 | · L · R | 6 | | · L · R | 8 | No stops in legend. Col. Morrieson. |
| 3 | · L · R | 6 | | · L · R | 5 | Pellet before R of C R |
| 4 | · L | 6 | | · L · R | 8 | No stops in legend. |
| 5 | · L · R | 8a | | · L · R | 8 | |
| 6 | · L | 8a | | · L · R | 8 | Reverse of No. 5. British Museum. |
| 7 | · · · L | 8a | | · L · R | 8 | Reverse of No. 2. No stops in legend. |
| 8 | · L · R | 9 | | · L · R | 8 | |
| 9 | · L · R | 11 | Stop after CAROLVS | · L · R | 8 | No stops in legend. |
| 10 | · · L · R | 12 | Do. | · L · R | 8 | Do. |
| 11 | · L · R | 14 | An extremely rare reading. | · L · R | 8 | Reverse of No. 5. British Museum. |
| 12 | · L · R | 14a | Do. | · L · R | 8 | Reverse of No. 5. |

TYPE 2c.—Mint-mark portcullis, issued July 11th, 1633.

| | | | | | | |
|----|---------|-----|--|-------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | Nil | 12a | Mint-mark to left. | · L · R | 8 | |
| 2 | · L · R | 12a | Do. | · L · R | 9 | No stops in legend. |
| 3 | Nil | 12a | Mint-mark over King's head, central. | · L · R | 9 | Col. Morrieson. |
| 4 | · L · R | 13a | Mint-mark to left. | · L · R | 9 | No stops in legend. |
| 5 | · L · R | 13a | Obverse of No. 4. | · · · L · R | 9 | Col. Morrieson. |
| 6 | · L | 13a | | · · · L · R | 9 | Reverse of No. 5. British Museum. |
| 7 | Nil | 14 | | · L · R | 9 | Reverse of No. 4. |
| 8 | · L · R | 14 | Upstanding horse and figure. (Fig. 6, Pl. 2.) | · L · R | 9 | Do. |
| 9 | Nil | 14 | | · L · R | 8 | |
| 10 | · R | 14 | | · L · R | 9 | Reverse of No. 4. |
| 11 | · L | 15 | Small, squat horse and figure. | · L · R | 9 | No stops in legend. |
| 12 | Nil | 15 | Upstanding horse. | · L · R | 9 | |



1. Type IIIc, die 3; anchor.

2. IIIc, 7; anchor.

3. IIIc, 1; triangle.

4. IIIc, 5; triangle.



5. IIIc, 6; triangle.

6. Briot puncheon.

7. Briot Puncheon.

8. IIIc, 3; star.

CHARLES I.—HALF CROWNS OF THE TOWER MINT.

PLATE IV.

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE 3a.—No plume on horse's head, sword upright, similar to crown No. 3a.
Mint-mark bell, issued June 27th, 1634.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----|--|------|----|---------------------|
| 1 | ·L·R | 13 | Long sword. | ·L·R | ? | Harp obliterated. |
| 2 | Nil | 14a | Long sword, pellet before. | ·L·R | 9 | |
| 3 | ·L·R | 14a | Long sword. | ·L·R | 9 | Spink & Son. |
| 4 | ·L·R | 14a | Long sword, pellet before. | ·L·R | 10 | |
| 5 | ·L·R | 14a | Long sword, pellet before, obverse of No. 4. | ·L·R | 9 | No stops in legend. |

TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark crown, issued June 18th, 1635.

| | | | | | | |
|----|------|-----|---|------|----|--|
| 1 | ·R | 8 | Medium sword. | ·L·R | 11 | No stops in legend. British Museum. |
| 2 | ·L·R | 8 | Short sword. | ·L·R | 11 | British Museum. |
| 3 | ·L·R | 12a | Medium sword. (Fig. 7, Pl. 2.) | ·L·R | 11 | Reverse of No. 2. |
| 4 | ·L·R | 12a | Long sword. | ·L·R | 11 | Do. |
| 5 | ·L·R | 13 | Medium sword. | ·L·R | 11 | Do. |
| 6 | Nil | 13 | Short sword. | ·L·R | 11 | |
| 7 | ·R | 13 | Pellet before sword also, short sword. | ·L·R | 11 | Probably die of No. 1. No stops in legend. |
| 8 | ·L·R | 15a | Short sword. | ·L·R | 11 | Do. |
| 9 | ·L·R | 15a | Short sword. | Nil | 11 | No stops in legend. British Museum. |
| 10 | ·L·R | 17 | Short sword; the only Half Crown I know with MAG ! abbreviated M ! (Fig. 8, Pl. 2.) | ·L·R | 11 | No stops in legend. |

TYPE 3a.—Mint-mark tun, issued February 14th, 1636.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|----|---|------|----|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | ·L·R | 13 | Very short sword. | ·L·R | 11 | No stops in legend. |
| 2 | ·L·R | 15 | Very short sword, larger lettering. | ·L·R | 11 | |
| 3 | ·L·R | 15 | Slightly longer sword. (Fig. 1, Pl. 3.) | ·L·R | 11 | No stops in legend. |
| 4 | ·L·R | 15 | Medium sword | ·L·R | 11 | Do. |
| 5 | ·L·R | 15 | From die of No. 4. | ·L·R | 11 | Stops in legend. |
| 6 | ·L·R | 15 | From die of No. 2. | ·L·R | 11 | British Museum. |
| 7 | ·L·R | 15 | | ·L·R | 11 | Reverse of No. 6. British Museum. |

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE 3*b*.—Similar, but has a plume over a reverse shield (as the Crown 3*b*, Mint-mark crown).
Mint-mark portcullis.

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----|---|---|------|---|---|
| 1 | Nil | 2 | Mint-mark very small. (Fig. 2, Pl. 3.) | •L•R | 9 | Extra pellet before CHRISTO. Small central plume. Col. Morrieson. |
|---|-----|---|---|------|---|---|

TYPE 3*b*.—Mint-mark bell.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-------------|---|--------|----|--|
| 1 | •L•R | 13 <i>a</i> | (Fig. 3, Pl. 3.) | •L•R | 10 | Mint-mark to left of plume. Col. Morrieson. |
| 2 | •R | 15 | Very long sword with pellet before it. | •L•R | ? | British Museum. |
| 3 | •R | 15 | Obverse of No. 2. (Fig. 4, Pl. 3.) | ••L••R | 8 | Extra pellet before CHRISTO. Mint-mark to left of plume struck over portcullis. Col. Morrieson. |

TYPE 3*b*.—Mint-mark crown.

| | | | | | | |
|---|-------|----|--------------------------------------|------|----|---|
| 1 | •L••R | 12 | Very long sword. (Fig. 5, Pl. 3.) | •L•R | 10 | Small plume over shield. Mint- mark to left. |
| 2 | •L•R | 13 | Very long sword. | •L•R | 10 | Crown struck over bell. (Re- verse of bell No. 1.) |
| 3 | •L•R | 15 | Short sword. | •L•R | 10 | No stops in legend. British Museum. |

TYPE 3*b*.—Mint-mark tun.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|----|------------------|------|----|---|
| 1 | •L•R | 15 | (Fig. 6, Pl. 3.) | •L•R | 11 | Mint-mark to left of plume. No stops in legend. Col. Morrieson. |
|---|------|----|------------------|------|----|---|

TYPE 3*c*.—Different obverse, unlike any Crown—horse's head turned towards spectator. King's
cloak flies from shoulders.
Mint-mark tun.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|-------------|------------------|------|----|--|
| 1 | •L•R | 15 <i>a</i> | (Fig. 7, Pl. 3.) | •L•R | 11 | No stops in legend. Col. Morrieson. |
|---|------|-------------|------------------|------|----|--|

TYPE 3*c*.—Mint-mark anchor, issued May 8th, 1638.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|----|---|--------|----|--|
| 1 | •L•R | 15 | Upright anchor. Small letters. (Fig. 8, Pl. 3.) | •L•R | 11 | Upright anchor. |
| 2 | •L•R | 15 | Prone anchor, shank to left. | •L•R | 11 | Prone anchor, shank to left. |
| 3 | Nil | 15 | Do. (Fig. 1, Pl. 4.) | •L•R | 11 | Do. |
| 4 | •L | 15 | Prone anchor, shank to left. | ••L•R | 11 | Do. British Museum. |
| 5 | •R | 15 | Prone anchor, shank to right. | ••L•R | 11 | Reverse of No. 4. |
| 6 | Nil | 15 | Prone anchor, shank to left. Obverse of No. 3. | •L•R | 11 | Murdoch, lot 133. Prone anchor, shank to right. |
| 7 | •L•R | 15 | Prone anchor, shank to right. (Fig. 2, Pl. 4.) | ••L••R | 11 | Prone anchor, shank to left. |

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE 3c.—Mint-mark triangle issued July 4th, 1639.

| | | | | | | |
|----|------|----|---|------|----|---|
| 1 | ·R | 1 | From Aberystwith puncheon. (Fig. 3, Pl. 4.) | ·L·R | 12 | Reverse Mint-mark struck over anchor. Small shield of arms. |
| 2 | ·L·R | 1 | From Aberystwith puncheon. | ·L·R | 13 | Large shield of arms. |
| 3 | ·L·R | 6 | No ground. | ·L·R | 12 | Reverse of No. 1. |
| 4 | ·L | 9 | No ground. | ·L·R | 11 | Small shield of arms. British Museum. |
| 5 | ·L·R | 15 | No ground. (Fig. 4, Pl. 4.) | ·L·R | 11 | Small shield of arms. |
| 6 | ·R | 3 | With ground. (Fig. 5, Pl. 4.) | ·L·R | 11 | Very small Mint-mark. |
| 7 | ·R | 3 | With ground. | ·L·R | 13 | Mint-mark large. |
| 8 | Nil | 3 | Do. | ·L·R | 13 | |
| 9 | ·L·R | 3 | Do. | ·L·R | 13 | |
| 10 | ·L·R | 4 | Do. | ·L·R | 11 | Small shield of arms. British Museum. |
| 11 | ·L·R | 4 | Do. | ·L·R | 10 | Very small Mint-mark. |
| 12 | ·L·R | 6 | Do. | ·L·R | 13 | |

NOTE.—Mint-mark triangle over anchor, two peculiar coins, apparently of Tower workmanship, but made with one of Briot's puncheons, are in Col. Morrieson's Cabinet. Both are from the same obverse die reading MAG ♦ BRIT ♦ FR ♦ ET ♦ HIB ♦ REX with lozenge stops in the legend and on each side of the Mint-mark. The reverses vary, one having a square-topped shield, garnished (Fig. 6, Pl. 4), and the other the usual Tower type, round shield, with pellet stops in the legend. (Fig. 7, Pl. 4.)

TYPE 3c.—Mint-mark star, struck over the triangle, issued June 26th, 1640.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|---|---|------|----|--|
| 1 | ·L·R | 1 | Aberystwith puncheon, no ground; die of triangle No. 2. | ·L·R | 13 | Reverse may be overstruck. Col. Morrieson. |
| 2 | ·R | 3 | With ground, triangle shows clearly. | ·L·R | 13 | |
| 3 | ·R | 7 | With ground, triangle does not show. (Fig. 8, Pl. 4.) | ·L·R | 13 | |

NOTE.—Type 4, beginning with Mint-mark star, was really issued here and Type 3c (without ground) was resumed after Type 4 with Mint-mark (P), but the present order is adopted for sake of clearness.

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE 3c.—Mint-mark (P), issued May 29th, 1643.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|---|--|------|----|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | ·L·R | 6 | | ·L·R | 11 | |
| 2 | Nil | 6 | | ·L·R | 11 | |
| 3 | Nil | 7 | | ·L·R | 11 | Reverse of No. 1. British Museum. |
| 4 | ·L | 7 | | ·L·R | 11 | |
| 5 | ·L·R | 9 | An extremely rare reading. (Fig. 1, Pl. 5.) | ·L·R | 11 | Reverse of No. 1. |

TYPE 3c.—Mint-mark (R), issued July 15th, 1644.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|----|--|------|----|---------------------|
| 1 | Nil | 6b | Mint-mark close to legend, very large single pellet stops. | ·L·R | 14 | No stops in legend. |
| 2 | ·L·R | 6 | King's sword points direct to the Mint-mark, which is in a wide space, well clear of the legend. (Fig. 2, Pl. 5.) | ·L·R | 14 | |
| 3 | ·L·R | 6 | Sword points to X. Legend close to Mint-mark. | ·L·R | 15 | |
| 4 | ·R | 6 | Similar to No. 2. | ·L·R | 14 | British Museum. |

TYPE 3c.—Mint-mark eye, issued May 12th, 1645.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|----|--------------------------------------|------|----|---|
| 1 | ·L·R | 6 | Small Mint-mark. (Fig. 3, Pl. 5.) | ·L·R | 16 | |
| 2 | ·L·R | 6a | Very large, clear Mint-mark. | Nil | 16 | Recorded by Hawkins as reading FRAN, but I doubt this. The N of FRAN may be, and I think is, a double-struck A. |
| 3 | ·R | 6a | Very large, clear Mint-mark. | ·L·R | 11 | British Museum. |

TYPE 3c.—Mint-mark sun (usually struck over the eye), issued November 10th, 1645.

| | | | | | | |
|---|-------|----|--|------|----|--|
| 1 | ·R | 6a | Obverse of die No. 3, eye overstruck. | ·L·R | 11 | |
| 2 | ·L·R | 6a | Obverse of No. 2, eye overstruck. | ·L·R | 16 | |
| 3 | ·L·R. | 6a | This coin is not overstruck. (Fig. 4, Pl. 5.) | ·L·R | 16 | |



1. Type IIIc, die 5; (P).

2. IIIc, 2; (R).

3. IVc, 1; eye.

4. IIIc, 3; sun.



5. IV, 5; star.

6. IV, 3; triangle
in circle

7. V, 1; sun

8. V, 1; sceptre.

CHARLES I.—HALF CROWNS OF THE TOWER MINT.

PLATE V.

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE 4.—Mint-mark star, similar to the Crown, type 4. (This type was issued in the middle of Type 3c, before the coins with Mint-mark (P) about 1640-1.)

| | | | | | | |
|----|------|----|--|------|----|--|
| 1 | •R | 3d | A quite unaccountable coin, as the star is clearly struck over an anchor, on both sides, but the horse is of this new type, which was not known with Mint-mark anchor. | •L•R | | A badly struck coin, which has had some circulation. British Museum. |
| 2 | •L•R | 6 | Mint-mark to right of sword, close to C of CAROLVS | •L•R | 16 | British Museum. |
| 3 | •L•R | 6 | Die of No. 2. | •••L | 16 | |
| 4 | •R | 6 | Mint-mark to left of sword, and a pellet each side of latter. | •L•R | 14 | |
| 5 | •L•R | 6 | Mint-mark to left of sword. | •L•R | 13 | |
| 6 | Nil | 6 | (Fig. 5, Pl. 5.) Mint-mark to left of sword. | •L•R | 14 | |
| 7 | Nil | 6 | Mint-mark to left of sword, one pellet over King's head. | •L•R | 14 | British Museum. |
| 8 | •L | 6 | Do. | •L•R | 14 | British Museum. |
| 9 | •R | 7 | Do. | •L•R | 8 | |
| 10 | •L•R | 13 | Do. | •L•R | 16 | Reverse of No. 2. Spink & Son. |

NOTE.—Another curious coin is in the British Museum. It has the triangle Mint-mark on obverse and triangle in circle on reverse, but it appears to be of such rough design and lettering that it is probably one of the so-called uncertain Half Crowns which did not emanate from the Tower Mint, and therefore is not enumerated as of this issue.

TYPE 4.—Mint-mark triangle in circle, issued July 15th, 1641.

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|---|--|------|----|-----------------|
| 1 | •R | 1 | Mint-mark to right of sword. Curious type of lettering, probably a contemporary forgery. | •L•R | ? | British Museum. |
| 2 | ? | 6 | Mint-mark to left of sword; very double-struck. | •L•R | 14 | |
| 3 | •L | 7 | Pellet over King's crown. | •L•R | 11 | |
| 4 | •L•R | 7 | (Fig. 6, Pl. 5.) Extra pellet over King's crown. | •L•R | 11 | |
| 5 | •R | 7 | Do. | •L•R | 11 | British Museum. |

| Die No. | Pellets by Obverse Mint-mark. | Legend No. | Remarks—Obverse. | Pellets by Reverse Mint-mark. | Harp No. | Remarks—Reverse. |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|
|---------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|

TYPE 4.—Mint-mark (P).

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|-----------------------------|------|---|-----------------|
| 1 | •R | 6? | Unique with this Mint-mark. | •L•R | ? | British Museum. |
|---|----|----|-----------------------------|------|---|-----------------|

NOTE.—Type 3c Mint-mark (P) and following Mint-marks of that type were issued here. See previous note under Type 3c, Mint-mark Star.

TYPE 5.—~~Rawlings~~ high upstanding horse.
Mint-mark sun.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|---|------|----|--|
| 1 | •R | 6 | (Fig. 7, Pl. 5.) | •L•R | 16 | |
| 2 | •R | 6 | Obverse of No. 1, but reverse has the sceptre Mint-mark (a mule). | •L•R | 16 | Reverse of No. 1 sceptre Mint-mark. British Museum. |

TYPE 5.—Mint-mark sceptre, issued February 15th, 1646/7.

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|------------------|------|----|--|
| 1 | •R | 6 | (Fig. 8, Pl. 5.) | •L•R | 16 | |
|---|----|---|------------------|------|----|--|

To face p. 95.]



CHARLES II TOUCHING FOR THE KING'S EVIL.
From John Browne's "Charisma."

ROYAL CHARITIES.

PART II.—TOUCHPIECES FOR THE KING'S EVIL.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

IN the last volume of our *Journal*,¹ we followed the story of the angel, a current coin given by our monarch as a dole in touching for the King's Evil. We have seen that the coinage of the old fine standard had gradually given place to crown gold, and we have recorded the cessation of the angel issue, with the seizure of the Tower Mint, as from August, 1642, the latest mint-mark on these pieces being that of the triangle-in-circle. I have also explained that Charles I, in his poverty and imprisonment, was constrained to bestow any small silver coin on his patients, unless they brought their own money with them, that he might hang it about their necks, threaded upon a ribbon.² It was reserved for Charles II, after the Restoration, to cause the gold medal to be made which gives the title to this paper, and which is now known as a "touchpiece," although in the seventeenth century it still preserved the name of "the healing piece."

Charles II, by the expedient of instituting a special medal, avoided the inconvenience of re-establishing the angel coinage, at a time when the specimens still extant from former reigns were becoming scarce.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, pp. 39-135.

² *Ibid.*, p. 116.

But it appears certain that on his accession he at first contemplated a fine gold issue. Mr. Symonds, in his "Pyx Trials of the Commonwealth, Charles II and James II,"¹ tells us that "shortly after the Restoration, standard trial-pieces were again prepared by a jury of goldsmiths, who reported on 19 October, 1660, as to the accurate adjustment of three standards, namely gold of 23 carats $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains, gold of 22 carats and silver." Notwithstanding these preparations, Mr. Symonds satisfied himself that no coins of the old standard are mentioned in the pyx returns.

Nevertheless in 1660, when orders were issued to Thomas Simon concerning patterns for necessary coins, we notice that the angel was not neglected, although, no completed example being known to us, we may assume that all serious idea of including it in the currency was almost at once laid aside.

The warrant, addressed to Simon, is prefaced by the usual heading: "Charles R," and is dated from Whitehall, the 18th day of September "in the twelveth yeare of our reigne," but Richard



SKETCH BY THOMAS SIMON OF AN ANGEL.

Gough, the editor of the second edition of Vertue's *Medals of Thomas Simon*, notes that it is unsigned.² The order directs the engraver to "forthwith prepare the stamper for our Angell golde according to the patterns herein expressed." The sketches of both the obverse

¹ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xv, pp. 345-350.

² George Vertue's *Medals, Coins, Great Seals of Thomas Simon*, p. 70*, edition of 1780

and the reverse are here reproduced from the illustration of the projected coins as it appears figured as D and E of Plate XXXIX of Vertue's book, and Richard Gough believed a completed silver pattern piece to have been presented to the British Museum by Thomas Hollis. That such a coin ever saw the light seems, however, doubtful, for no official record exists of the presentation thereof, and the only known trial-piece from Simon's die lies in the thin silver cliché illustrated below, which is in my own cabinet,¹ and was figured by Snelling, Folkes and Ruding.



TRIAL PIECE FOR AN ANGEL BY THOMAS SIMON.

Evidence is not lacking that Simon considered the die to belong to those ordered for currency, and not to be intended for a medal or touchpiece merely, for in his own list of his works, he places it amongst his "fourteen several original stamps by way of the hamer," the dies for gold being specified as for "the twenty, the ten, and the five shilling pieces and the angel piece."² He made a total charge of £280 for the dies for gold and silver.

The story of the Mint in the first few years after the Restoration is one of perpetual hurry. The king wished the Commonwealth coins to be recalled and the "stamps" for the new issues were not ready. Small wonder that the coinage of the angel, requisite only for the healing ceremony, was adjudged for the moment to be unnecessary, seeing that coins of the late king might serve the purpose.

¹ From the Murdoch, Montagu and Brice collections, figured and described by Helen Farquhar in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ix, 4th series, pp. 297-299.

² *Medals, Coins, etc., of Thomas Simon*, Appendix v, p. 89.

Let us turn to the *Declared Accounts*, Pipe Office,¹ and we shall see that between July 20, 1660, and December 31, of the year 1662, the period covered by the first account of Ralph Freeman, at that time Master of the Mint, only "Crowne Gold of Standard xxij carretts in Fyne Gold and two Carrett of Allay in every pound weight Troy" was coined, the amount of bullion reaching 918 lb. 8 oz. 3 dwt. 2 grs. No mention is made in this document of any special coinage for the King excepting certain patterns of new gold delivered to "his Mats own hand."²

Other *Declared Accounts* running from January 1, 1662-3 to December 20, 1666, satisfy us that in that period also no angels were made, the Mint officials elaborately setting forth this fact in unmistakable fashion as follows: "Angell gold of the standard of xxij carretts iij graines and a halfe of fine gold and a halfe a graine of Allay in the pound weight Troy (none being molten or Coyned) nil."³

What, then, was Charles II's healing gift, until his new touch-piece in 1664-5 supplied the place so long held by the angel?

We shall find that this question had earnestly obtruded itself upon Charles, even before his return to England from his long exile, and that, as his father had sometimes done in his imprisonment, so the son in his turn was often forced to pass over the necks of his patients ribbons threaded with pieces of money they had brought with them for the purpose.⁴ During his sojourn in Holland

¹ *Declared Accounts*, Pipe Office, Public Record Office, Roll 2087.

² The gold patterns made for the King amounted in all to but £10 17s. 8d., within the twenty-nine months of this account, viz., "Alsoe allowed to the said Accomptan (Sir Ralph Freeman) for the value of several peeces of new gold delivered to his Mat's own hands within the tyme of this Accompt viz. by this Accomptan himselfe viij^{li} xv^s and by Mr. Slingsby xliij^s viij^d. In all the sume of x^{li} xvij^s viij^d."

³ *Declared Accounts*, Audit Office, Bundle 1601, Roll 55 in the Public Record Office. The crown gold struck between January 1, 1662-3 and December 20, 1666, amounted to 3431 lb. 8 oz. 4 dwt.

⁴ John Browne's *Charisma Basilicon*, Book III, p. 157 of his *Adenochora-delogia*. This work consists of three parts dealing with the King's Evil, but the two first, *Adenographia* and *Chæradologia*, are of a technical nature on the treatment and study of the disease, and it is the third book—*Charisma*—which deals with the king's touch.

immediately before the Restoration gold pieces were bestowed by him, but the official angel was represented by any chance coin of the requisite value.

We have a long account, written by Sir William Lower, describing the young monarch's reception at Breda and the Hague on his journey to England, and the diarist gives us full details of the healing ceremony, including the presentation of the keepsake.¹ "For as much," writes Sir William, "as the Angels, which is a kind of gold so named, because it hath the figure of an Angel upon it, are so rare, that they can scarce be gotten, especially in these Provinces, the King useth ordinarily, as he did on this present occasion,² the ten shilling peeces, which are near the same value."³ Dr. Crawford,⁴ in his *King's Evil*, selected for illustration a pierced half-sovereign of Charles I, now in the British Museum, deeming it likely that of such should be Charles II's healing gifts, and I also reproduce it here.



PIERCED HALF-UNITE OF CHARLES I.

Relation in the Form of a Journal of the Voyage and Residence which H.M. Charles II, King of Great Britain, made in Holland between 25th of May and 2 of June, 1660, p. 76.

¹ The "occasion" was Sunday, May 30, new style at the Hague. Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, ed. 1843, pp. 897-910, describes this visit, first to Breda and then to the Hague, as ending on the 24th of May. Lower, writing originally in French, naturally employed the new style of reckoning, and we must remember that all the dates mentioned by him are ten days in advance of those we should find in an English book of the same period.

² The French edition reads: "Le Roi se sert ordinairement, ainsi que l'on fit en l'occasion presente, de demi Carolus, qui sont de la mesme valeur." The angel, called in French "angelot," was there defined as "valent environ deux écus et demi." See *Rélation du Voiage*, etc., p. 75.

⁴ *The King's Evil*, p. 105.

H 2

The story is frequently told of the young king's joy in showing to his brother James and sister Mary a portmanteau full of gold pieces, sent to him as a present, whilst he was still in the States of Holland. If these were the coins he used for the healing ceremony a considerable call must have been made on the valise of gold, for the number of persons resorting to Charles for his touch was great, coming "even" according to Lower,¹ "from the most remote Provinces of Germany."

Charles for the first time in many years had money at his disposal. Clarendon says that Parliament voted £50,000 and the city of London £10,000, to the king, but this money could not at once be procured in kind, and he had to make his payments in Holland by bills of exchange from merchants in Amsterdam.² The expenses of his entertainment were defrayed by the States General, and from them he also received a present in money, wherewith he might discharge his past debts.³ But Clarendon expressly states that a considerable amount of "English gold" was brought to Charles by various persons, "that their names, and the names of those that sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their affections that way to his Majesty, by supplying

¹ *Relation in the Form of a Journal*, p. 78. Lower originally wrote his book in French, "because the King would use that tongue during his residence whereof you have here the recital," as he tells us in his English preface, but it must have appeared almost simultaneously in French, English, and Dutch, for the publisher, Andrian Vlaq, at the Hague, informed his purchasers at the commencement of the French edition:—"qu'il fait imprimer à ses grands depens, un Livre intitulé Relation du voyage et Séjour que le Prince Charles II a fait en Holland 25 May, 2 Juin, 1660 non seulement en la langue Francaise, mais aussi en Flamenne, Angloise, etc."

² *History of the Rebellion*, edition of 1843, pp. 908-9.

³ See in Dr. J. R. Magrath's *The Flemings in Oxford*, vol. I, p. 129, in a letter from the Rev. Thomas Smith to Daniel Fleming: "The Dutch presented ye King and ye 2 Dukes to a very high value." Also on p. 133, "Hee received from ye States of Holland about 200,000 ^{li} besides 8000 ^{li} per diem." These gifts are more usually reported at £60,000 for the king himself and £7500 for each of his brothers, besides £30,000 for the expenses of his visit. See the *Travels of the King*, by Eva Scott, pp. 468-70. His debts were reckoned at some 80,000 florins. According to *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 22, May 24-31, 1660, p. 341, "One of the courses" at a supper given by the States of Holland to Charles "was served all in gold plate, which was

his necessities."¹ We may assume, therefore, that amongst the parcels of "English gold" were the "ten shilling peeces" mentioned by Lower, as substitutes for the angel. "It is certain," remarks this diarist, "that the King hath very often touched the sick as well at Breda, where he touched two hundred and sixty from Saturday the 17 of April to Sunday the 23 of May, as at Bruges and Brussels during the residence he made there."² On Sunday, May 30, Lower describes the service at great length with the full ceremony, the king "sitting in a great chair" and one of the Clerks of the Closet standing "at the right side of the chair holding on his arm, or rather in his right hand, as many gold Angels every one tied to a ribband of white silk as there were sick to be touched, which were then of the number of eight and forty."³

The service, which I hope to print in a later volume, was evidently carried out with the same attention to detail as it is pictured in our frontispiece, taken from John Browne's "*Charisma*," in which the Clerk, Nathaniel Crew, or his deputy the Keeper of the Closet,⁴ Thomas Donkley, is seen handing the coin threaded upon a ribbon to the king. Lower's account of the healing ceremony in Holland is of the greater value to us, because Richard Wiseman, Surgeon in

afterward presented to his Majesty valued at 60,000^{li}," and many other expensive gifts were made to him.

¹ *Clarendon*, p. 907.

² *Relation in the Form of a Journal*, p. 78.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6. The word "angel" is here used by Lower, but see his explanation on our p. 99. The angel was specified in the rubric of Charles I and his predecessors, but in that of Charles II we read only "the King putteth his gold about their necks," see Book of Common Prayer, 1662, folio, Brit. Mus. 3406 e. 2. John Browne, in describing the ceremony in his *Charisma Basilicon*, pp. 95-101, merely uses the words "his gold," although by the time he wrote, in 1683-4, the small gold medal, following the type of the angel, had long replaced the current coin, and he might fairly have called it by the old name.

⁴ Donkley served Charles as Deputy Clerk or Keeper of the Closet from 1666 at latest, to the end of his reign; his salary of £8 per annum is mentioned as four years due to him in the Calendar of Treasury Books, vol. iii, p. 688, November 17, 1670. The pay is described as 2½ years in arrears in 1665 to the then Clerk of Closet, in a paper quoted *The Secret Services of Charles II*, p. vi. The superior

Ordinary during the young prince's travels,¹ wrote somewhat vaguely in his *Treatise on the King's Evil*, published in 1676, concerning the cures said to have been performed during the period of exile.² Wiseman wrote that he had received letters from Ireland, Scotland, Jersey and Guernsey, establishing many a recovery from the King's Evil, but inasmuch as Charles did not visit Ireland during his wanderings, it is possible that the courtly surgeon only referred to travellers from these countries whom he presented in England to the royal touch, and who afterwards wrote to him to inform him they had profited by it. But as he attended Charles in his exile, we may, I think, fairly assume that he had himself witnessed these healings, whilst with the king in Flanders and Holland.

However, John Browne,³ the great exponent of the healing

office of Clerk, usually held by a Bishop, was during the period of exile conferred in 1651 on John Earle, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who died in 1665 and was succeeded by Dr. Blandford, Bishop of Oxford. At the time, however, when the original of our frontispiece was published, Nathaniel Crew, Bishop of Durham, filled the post.

¹ Richard Wiseman, who had served Charles in Jersey and afterwards attended his wanderings in France, Flanders, Holland and Scotland, had suffered imprisonment in his cause, being taken prisoner at the Battle of Worcester. He was made Serjeant-Surgeon Extraordinary in 1665, and on the death of Humphrey Painter in 1670 he received the appointment of Serjeant-Surgeon. See the *Serjeant-Surgeons and their Office*, by D'Arcy Power, F.R.C.S., F.S.A. It appears that two Serjeant-Surgeons were in office concomitantly and held the appointment for life. Sometimes a Surgeon Extraordinary was chosen, and succeeded to the superior place of Serjeant on a vacancy. Wiseman is already spoken of as Surgeon in Ordinary in 1662, but the Serjeant-Surgeon ranked above the King's principal Surgeon. See *Ibid.*, printed in *Janus* in 1900, p. 174. The King's "Principal Surgeon" had, however, a larger fee as per various payments specified in the Treasury Books under date 1667-8, see our p. 130, note 2. We find Wiseman's signature appended to the manuscript list of persons healed, together with that of John Knight, who had filled the same office since 1661. Several leaves from this official list were published by Dr. Garrison in his "Relic of the King's Evil." See *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, vol. vii, No. 6, page 227.

² *Chirurgical Treatises*, Book IV, p. 246.

³ John Browne was born at Norwich, but although sprung from a long line of eminent medical men, he was, so far as is known, unrelated to Sir Thomas Browne of that city, the author of *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*. John Browne migrated to London in 1678, and by mandatory letters from the king held the appointment of Surgeon

gift and also "Chirurgion in Waiting," is quite definite about healings held in the last-mentioned country, at an earlier date than that of Lower's *Journal*. Browne writes of a "Scottish Merchant" whose protégés brought "their own gold with them," and who "made it his business every Spring and Fall to bring people from Scotland and Newcastle troubled with the Evil to the King, where ever he was in his Troubles, as at Brussels, Breda, Bruges, Antwerp and the like."¹ He also relates the story of the private healing of a poor woman in Holland, for which he gives the authority of "Dr. Erles, Lord Bishop of Sarum," who was Chaplain to Charles in 1656.² No mention is made of France, excepting the healing of French persons in Holland, and possibly the exiled prince did not trespass on the prerogatives of his French cousin, Louis XIV, on whom his family were wholly dependent, a fact apparently afterwards forgotten by his less tactful brother and nephew. Neither do I find any reference, unless that just mentioned from the pen of Wiseman, to healings during the young king's brief sojourn in Scotland, where his Presbyterian custodians would have little sympathy with such ceremonies.

Wiseman also alluded to cures performed by the help of relics of the late king, such as handkerchiefs dipped in his blood.³ This belief was even held as regards the living monarch, and Blount, in his *Boscobel*⁴ and Pepys, in his *King's Narrative*,⁵ repeated the tale

to St. Thomas's Hospital from 1683 to 1691. He was "Surgeon in Ordinary" to Charles II, James II, and William III, and died about 1710. See *John Browne*, by D'Arcy Power, *Archæologia Medica*, in *The British Medical Journal*, August 31, 1895.

¹ *Charisma Basilicon*, pp. 156-7. Browne also heard from Serjeant Haynes, who was with Charles at Brussels, that "not only Scotch, Irish, English, but several French, Spanish, Dutch and Walloons, who were troubled with this disease were all healed by his excellent healing faculty." *Ibid.*, p. 158.

² *Ibid.*, p. 158. Also on page 160 Browne tells of a man healed at Bruges.

³ *Chirurgical Treatises*, p. 247.

⁴ Tract ii in Allan Fea's *After Worcester Fight*, p. 101.

⁵ *An Account of His Majesty's Escape from Worcester dictated by the King himself*. See note by Pepys on p. 20 of the republished version, Tract i in *After Worcester Fight*. The original manuscript is in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge and was first published by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, in 1766.

of a miracle-working handkerchief. Blount related an episode, after Charles had escaped from Worcester in 1651 and was hiding in disguise at Moseley, of the bleeding of his nose. He pulled out of his pocket his handkerchief, which was, according to Pepys, "a very old one, torn and very coarse," being part of the equipment which the Penderel brothers had lent him. This rag, "being daubed with the king's blood from his nose," was exchanged by Father Huddleston¹ for a clean kerchief, and the priest "gave it to a kinswoman of his, one Mrs. Blaithwayte, who kept it with great veneration as a remedy for the King's Evil."

Probably the belief in the efficacy of that which the king had handled was responsible for the treasuring and occasional passing from one sufferer to another of a touchpiece, even in comparatively recent times. Charges for strings on which to suspend the healing-piece may be found in parish accounts at a date when touching for the Evil had long been abandoned by our kings, and Dr. Crawford, in his volume on this subject, tells us that "the coins of Charles I did duty for successive generations of Shetlanders."² The Churchwardens' Accounts at ~~Mit~~chenhampton,³ which extend from 1555 onward, contain year after year such entries as that found in 1663: "For 1 yard of ribbond for Jonathan Harris, his child that have the King's Evil, 5^d," or in the following year: "Payd 2 silk stringes for Jonathan Harris his boy, 7^d." But these and similar items merely show that the sick persons continued to wear the token the king had bestowed, and that the respective possessors had not money enough to buy a new ribbon, when the old string was worn. It is noticeable that some of the entries were found in the reign of William and Mary, when no fresh touch was obtainable, and it was

¹ Father Huddleston was the priest who having assisted Charles in his escape in 1651, also attended him on his deathbed in 1685.

² *The King's Evil*, p. 153.

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv, pp. 422-452. The accounts published extend only to the year 1714, but a note mentions that the charges for ribbons are continued till the year 1736. I found none prior to 1663. In some years the outlay is considerable, amounting to 7s. 4d. in 1689, "for those that had the evill"; in 1690 to 4s. 8d., in 1692 to 5s. 3d., and so on.

the more important to guard the treasure from loss, and it is quite possible that the healing-piece was sometimes handed to another wearer.¹ It is also not unlikely that some of the patients went to seek a second touch, complying with a suggestion made by John Browne, that in that case they should "bring up their own Gold to the King, and put a new Silk Ribbon into it, which if he pleases to put over them, will be sufficient for them without any further charge of Gold."² The king's surgeon suggested this expedient because sometimes the patients enlarged the holes in the touchpieces before exchanging them for fresh tickets, that a "dishonest man" might purchase for himself an advantageous parcel of Gold in time."³

Charles in his hiding place at Trent amused himself by boring holes in coins, one of which, "a piece of foreign gold," he gave to one Captain Ellesdon, who assisted his escape, and according to the narrative written by his young hostess, Anne Wyndham,⁴ he presented "like peeces" as keepsakes to his hosts, Colonel, afterwards Sir Francis, Wyndham and "his Lady" on taking his leave. Whether the words "foreign gold" applied to all these coins is not clear, but Lady Wyndham states they were treasured by their recipients "to keep as Records of his Majesties favour as the chiefest jewels of their family."⁵ They

¹ Browne, who whether from motives of loyalty or genuine faith in the cures, reported every story that was told him, says that "a Father was touched by the late King [Charles I] and received Gold: the Son never was touch'd, neither did he receive any. The Father being distempered and ill, keeps the Gold about his own neck, which kept him in health . . . the Son falling ill borrows his Father's Gold from his neck and puts it about his own which likewise gave him ease and relief," and whichever of two wore the healing-piece "was defended against any new approach of his distemper," so that the "change of Gold from Father to Son and Son to Father was maintained between them for many years together." *Charisma*, p. 138. Browne gives a second account of a lady lending her gold to "a Russia Merchant" for a short time only, but with successful result. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

² *Charisma*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁴ *Claustrum Regale Reseratum* by A. W. Tract iv, in *After Worcester Fight* p. 193, and reprinted from the 1681 edition. This account, written by Anne, Lady Wyndham, was first published in 1667.

⁵ *Claustrum Regale*, p. 28, ed. 1667 and p. 69, ed. 1681.

are, alas, not to be found with other relics remaining in the hands of their direct descendants at Newton Surmaville, and the nationality of the coin therefore remains a mystery.¹ It does not appear that any healing virtue was attached by this loyal family to the pierced souvenirs left at Trent by Charles, for Mrs. Harbin, a married daughter of the house of Wyndham, born some years after the king's visit, developed the Evil and wrote to her mother as follows in or about the year 1677²: "Mr. Harbin and myself desires to come for London, I being over and above persuaded by my friends to be touched for evil, I having such an ill head, which is very troublesome unto me and I fear it will be worse if it be not prevented, for it comes farder and farder every day and all my feare is that it will come into my neck and face." No doubt, if the actual touch were available, it would be preferred, and Charles II could refuse nothing to a member of a family that had helped him in the days of his peril.

¹ Charles, who had been abroad and then in Scotland before the battle of Worcester, might have been in possession of foreign or more likely Scottish gold, but it seems more probable that most of the money would be the current coin, bearing his father's effigy, only recently supplemented by the Commonwealth issues. It is known that Charles distributed "The gold he had in his pocket among his servants," before he put on the disguise provided by the Penderels (see *After Worcester Fight*, p. 75 of Tract ii, Blount's *Boscobel*), and was subsequently obliged to borrow "ten out of thirty shillings," offered to him by Francis Yates, brother-in-law of the Penderels, p. 67. When, however, he reached Trent, he had again met with Lord Wilmot, who was amongst those to whom he had entrusted his valuables. "Three hundred broad pieces" had moreover been recently placed in Wilmot's charge at Trent by Colonel Strangways. See *The Boscobel Tracts*, edited by J. Hughes, pp. 69 and 169.

² Letter from Mrs. Harbin to her mother, Lady Wyndham, communicated to me by the late Preb. E. Bates Harbin of Newton Surmaville in Somersetshire. Elizabeth Harbin, born in 1654, was one of the last survivors of Sir Francis Wyndham's children and her mother's favourite, and consequently her heiress. Lady Wyndham retired as a widow to Newton, and brought with her many relics from Trent. Mrs. Harbin's picture at Newton shows no sign of disfigurement, but the result of her visit to London is not recorded. Browne, on p. 192 of his *Charisma*, mentioned the child of "one Mr. Harbins" of Winchester, who was "perfectly blind with the Evil and being Touch'd by His Sacred Majesty for the same at Whitehall, she immediately received great benefit thereby," but we have no evidence that this child was of the same family.

During the Interregnum, when the ruler of the country was Oliver Cromwell, who of course, as the Lord Protector, made no pretence to the healing virtue, the would-be applicant for the touch must either cross the sea or rest content with a gold piece which had been already blessed, unless some article dipped in the royal blood could be obtained. Browne,¹ in common with Wiseman,² expressed his belief in cures wrought by handkerchiefs, soaked on the scaffold of Charles I, Wiseman remarking that "those that were cured by his Blood wore no gold."

For many years, one of the two shirts worn by Charles I on the day of his execution was venerated as a specific against scrofula, and Lord Redesdale tells us in his memoirs the story of this garment preserved in the house of his grandfather, Lord Ashburnham, as follows:³ "The shirt was kept as a sacred relic by our ancestor, John Ashburnham, who attended His Majesty on the scaffold: it was deeply stained with the blood of the Martyr, and people used to beg to be allowed to touch it as a remedy for the King's Evil. When my grandmother came back from Florence, she asked the housekeeper where the shirt was. 'Quite safe, my lady,' was the answer, 'but it was so stained, that I have had it washed.'" We can but exclaim with Lord Redesdale, "The pity of it!"

Both Wiseman⁴ and Browne⁵ lay stress on the fact that the angel was in no sense intended to act as an amulet. Wiseman says that "some attribute the cure to the Journey they take, and the change of Air; others to the effects of the Imagination, and others to the wearing of gold," but he disputes this last mentioned allegation, as we have seen, on the ground that no gold was worn by those cured by relics of the late king. Browne⁶ brings forward in support of his argument a story told by Tooker, instancing one whom "necessity compelled to sell it [her angel] and yet she remained well, whence He" [Tooker] "as other wise men have conjectured that the Gold given is only as the King's Charitable Token and no more."

¹ *Charisma Basilicon*, pp. 150-155.

² *Memories* by Lord Redesdale, vol. i, p. 26.

³ *Charisma Basilicon*, p. 131.

⁴ *Chirurgical Treatises*, pp. 246-7.

⁵ *Chirurgical Treatises*, p. 247.

⁶ *Charisma Basilicon*, p. 131.

"As to the giving of Gold," writes Browne in his preface, "this only shows His Majesties' Royal Well-wishes towards the Recovery of those who came to be healed. This Gold being hereat given as a Token of his Sacred Favour and Pledge of His best desires for them."¹ Some modern physicians have attributed such cures as were undoubtedly wrought principally to the power of mind over matter, but perhaps also partly to constant contact with the angel, in keeping alive the mental excitement. "Strong emotions, such as were inevitable in preparations for seeing the King, in the impression made by the ritual service of some length, the actual thrill caused by contact with royalty and the sustained expectations secured by the possession of the amulet, might set up chemical changes in the system of a stimulating and possibly beneficial kind."²

Neither must the continual cleanliness impressed, even in Elizabethan times, upon the poorer patients be entirely overlooked. But this is not the place to discuss the problem from the medical point of view, which has been ably examined by Dr. Crawford in his *King's Evil*. It is with the gold that we are concerned, and it is interesting to find Sir Thomas Browne, an eminent physician of Norwich in the seventeenth century, although a somewhat half-hearted believer in the royal touch, sending his patients to the king, and expressing a qualified and guardedly worded opinion with regard to the benefit attached to contact with gold. Whilst combatting as one of the "Vulgar Errors," which he exposed in his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, the axiom "that gold is a cordial," he yet spoke with reserve concerning amulets, merely stating that "if amulets do work by emanations from their bodies upon those parts whereunto they are appended . . . if they produce visible and real effects it may be unjust to deny the possible efficacy of gold."³ But it is

¹ *Charisma Basilicon*, p. 13 of his preface.

² See the *King's Evil in its Relation to Psychotherapy*, by Dr. Allen Starr, published in *The Medical Record* for December, 1917, p. 1106. See also Dr. Billings on the *King's Touch for Scrofula*. *Proceedings, Charaka Club*, 1906, pp. 69-71, quoted by Dr. Fielding Garrison in *A Relic of the King's Evil*, p. 234.

³ *Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, edited by Simon Wilkins, vol. i, p. 172, edition of 1852. His attitude towards healing by means of relics may be judged from his own words in his *Religio Medici*, vol. ii, p. 362, "That miracles have been I do believe, that

probable that like his successors in the science of medicine his regard for the amulet was as a mental help in form of suggestion. But we have said enough to show that other doctors besides the royal surgeons were advocates for the king's touch, and with the uneducated people the impression that the touchpiece was in itself an amulet was strong.

Once Charles II was seated on his throne all necessity to fly to relics of the late king was passed. Pepys¹ and Evelyn² report that the restored monarch lost no time about beginning a popular ceremony. Unfortunately, according to the disappointed diarist's note, under date June 23, 1660, the weather nearly spoilt the effect. "To see the King touch people for the King's Evil," writes Pepys. "But he did not come at all, it rayned so; and the poor people were forced to stand in the rain in the garden. Afterwards he touched them in the banquetting house." *The Mercurius Publicus* gives a more courtly account of the proceedings as follows:³ "Saturday being appointed by his Majesty to touch such as were troubled with the Evil, a great company of poor afflicted Creatures were met together, many brought in Chairs and Flaskets and being appointed by his Majesty to repair to the Banqueting House, his Majesty sat in a Chair of State, where he strok'd all that were brought to him, and then put about each of their necks a white Ribbon with an Angel

they yet may be wrought by the living I do not deny; but have no confidence in those which are fathered on the dead." In his letters to his son, we have ample evidence of his sending patients to Charles II. He writes: "Mrs. Verdon went to London to have her sonne touched . . . she was very earnest to have her little sonne touched being hard to admit of medecines," vol. iii, p. 456. Neither is this the only instance of his referring his patients to the king. John Browne also gives an account of a person successfully sent over to Breda by Sir Thomas to be healed, *Charisma*, p. 187. "He advised the parents of the Child to have it carryed over to the King (his own method being used ineffectually)." See also several other instances mentioned by Pettigrew on p. 149 of *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*.

¹ Pepys's *Diary*, ed. 1828, vol. i, p. 110, June 23, 1660.

² Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. 1827, vol. ii, p. 151. Evelyn describes the ceremony fully under date July 6, 1660. He speaks as though this were the first time Charles touched in England, but this was not the case.

³ *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 26, p. 407. Saturday, June 23, 1660.

of Gold on it. In this manner his Majesty stroak'd above 600 and such was his Princely patience and tenderness to the poor afflicted Creatures, that though it took up a very long time, His Majesty being never weary of wel-doing was pleased to make enquiry whether there were any more that had not been yet touch'd." The next number of the paper repeats that : " The Kingdom having been for a long time troubled with the evil by reason of His Majesty's Absence great numbers have recently flock'd for cure."¹ But in spite of the apparent pleasure displayed by Charles in the first performance at Whitehall of this very disagreeable office,² his " Princely patience " shortly gave out and we find a limit set to the number of applicants for healing. *The Parliamentary Intelligencer* of July 2-9, 1660, announced that " His Majesty on Monday last touched two hundred and fifty in the Banqueting Hall " . . . " His Majesty hath for the future appointed every Friday for the cure ; at which time two hundred and no more are to be presented to him."³ For these weekly ceremonies the late King's coins had to be provided, and as we have seen, when possible an angel was still procured, but we must ask ourselves the question, whether the coin was sufficiently abundant for the purpose. We have here evidence that Charles touched 850 persons between Saturday, June 23, and the following Monday week, and after that date two hundred weekly for an indefinite period.

That a break in the healings occurred, however, in the winter is clear, for one of the newspapers, *Mercurius Publicus*, early in the year 1660-1, whilst referring to the scandalous practice of certain

¹ *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 27, p. 430, July 2-9, 1660.

² Pepys, under date April 13, 1661, again refers to the king's behaviour in this trying ordeal. " I went to the Banquet-house and there saw the King heale for the first time that ever I saw him do it, which he did with great gravity and it seemed to me an ugly office and a simple one." *Diary*, vol. i, p. 187. Pepys does not allude to the subject again until April 10, 1667, a Wednesday in Easter week, when he reports that he went " to see the King heal the King's Evil wherein no pleasure I having seen it before," vol. iii, p. 193.

³ *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, No. 28, p. 437, July 2-9, 1660. See also *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 27, pp. 430-31.

persons, who for the sake of the gold piece came again and again to be touched, gave notice that: "The next Healing will begin six weeks hence."¹ The first proclamation² which I have seen under Charles II limiting the dates of the healings to a definite period is that of the 4th of July, 1662, and it establishes the receptions as "from the Feast of All Saints, commonly called Allhallowtide to a week before Christmas and in the month before Easter." The reason for this arrangement is given as "being the more convenient for the temperature of the season and in respect to any contagion that may happen."³

Towards the end of Charles II's reign these winter healings were by a proclamation under date January 9, 1683-4, further defined as from Allhallowtide (November 1) to a week before Christmas

¹ *Mercurius Publicus*, February 14-20, 1661, N.S. No. 7, p. 98. "We cannot but give notice that certain persons (too many would think) who having the King's Evil and have been touched by his Sacred Majesty, have yet the Forhead to come twice or thrice alledging they were never there before, till divers witnesses prove the contrary, which hath forced His Majesty to give order that whosoever hereafter comes to be touched shall first bring His Majesties Chirurgions a Certificate from the Minister and Church Wardens (where they live) that they never were touched by His Majesty before. The next Healing will begin six weeks hence." The healings, in spite of this postponement in the month of February, totalled 1425 persons during the following March and April, inclusively of the remainder of February.

² In the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, *Charles II*, vol. i, No. 86, and Lord Crawford's *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, vol. i, No. 3364. The object of these limitations had been set forth by a Proclamation of James I; see *Antiquaries, James I*, vol. i, No. 18, and Lord Crawford, No. 1182, stating that persons had "forborne to approach or offer themselves to the former Kings of this Realm during the Summer time," but that the order "hath bene of late neglected and such people useth to repaire indifferently at all times." James therefore decided to heal between Easter and Michaelmas only. The command was repeated by Charles I, who proclaimed that the usual great healing seasons had been Easter and Whitsuntide and should in future be Easter and Michaelmas, see *Antiquaries, Charles I*, vol. i, No. 45, June, 1626, and Lord Crawford's No. 1480; see also *Antiquaries*, vol. iii, No. 111^a June, 1629, Crawford, No. 1585; *Antiquaries*, vol. ii, No. 146, March, 1631, Crawford, No. 1631; *Antiquaries*, vol. ii, No. 153; October, 1631, Crawford, No. 1638; also July, 1638, Crawford, Nos. 1779 and 1780, and Sept., 1639, Crawford, No. 1809.

³ *Mercurius Publicus*, July 10-17, 1662. No. 28, p. 439.

(December 18) and after Christmas until March 1, when healing was to cease till Passion week.¹

Before the issue of the proclamation on July 4, 1662, or the promulgation of some further official regulations on the same day,² which embraced several new rules concerning the tickets for the ceremony, certain newspaper notices appeared at various dates putting off the Healing during the hot weather,³ a custom so well known as to need no special proclamation until a slight change was made in the usual procedure as above stated. In the *Mercurius Publicus* and the *Public Intelligencer* early in May, 1661, I find regulations concerning "Friday next (May 10) and Wednesday (May 15) being the last dayes his Majesty intends to heal, till the heat of the weather be allayed, and His Majesties further pleasure be known, whereof his good subjects shall have timely notice."⁴ But in the months immediately succeeding the Restoration there was no relaxation possible in spite of heat and fatigue, and the list⁵ kept by Thomas

¹ Proclamation of January 9, 1683-4, Library of Antiquaries, Charles II, vol. ii, No. 284A and Lord Crawford's No. 3755. The *London Gazette*, No. 1898, January 24 to 28, 1683, published, "by authority" the report of the Council at Whitehall, where these directions were issued. This document is also to be found in Dr. Crawford's *King's Evil*, p. 186.

² See our p. 128.

³ *Kingdom's Intelligencer*, No. 18, p. 265, April 29 to May 6, 1661, and *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 18, p. 288, May 2 to 9, 1661. "We are commanded to give notice that his Majesty finds the season, already so hot, that it will be neither safe nor fit, to continue his healing such as have the King's Evil, and therefore that his Majesties good Subjects therein concern'd would at present forbear to come to Court."

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Account of the Persons touched by His Sacred Majesty*, which forms the Appendix of John Browne's *Charisma*. As the list begins in May it clearly included some private healings either on the king's arrival in London on his birthday, May 29, or the following two days, or possibly even at Dover on May 26. In any case some private healings must be added to the 850 in June, of which the newspapers spoke, for Haynes's entries are as follows: "May and June, 900; July, 1084; August, 781; September, 1691; November, December, January, 1549." He makes a total of 6725, but the figures for these months correctly added should be 6005. The subdivisions into years are somewhat arbitrary, the scribe starting afresh in February, March or May as the fancy takes him.

Haynes, "Serjeant of His Majesties Chapel Royal," supplies the information that the king touched 900 persons in May and June, and 1084 in July, 1660, with a total, inclusive of many patients in August, September, November, December and January of 6005, so that we may assume no prohibition was put forth in these first few months of the king's reign.

The postponements owing to the heat of the weather¹ became more insistent as years went on, and the newspapers towards the middle of Charles II's reign² are replete with orders that "By reason of the approaching Summer his Majestie has been pleased to Declare that there shall be no further Public Touching for the Evil till the Heats be over." Or yet again, "We are commanded to give notice that by reason of the great Heats which are growing on, there will be no further Touching for the Evil till Michaelmas." Moreover, we find the king complaining in one of the last years of his life of the abuse of his kindness. "Whereas Public Notice was given in April last that his Majesty would Touch no more³ for the Evil till towards Michaelmas next, notwithstanding which several have followed His Majestie to Windsor at this unseasonable time for prevention whereof all ministers, churchwardens and others concerned in granting certificates are not to grant such certificates till towards Michaelmas next." In spite, however, of these stringent regulations, we shall later see that Charles continued throughout the whole of his reign to touch when on progress, whatever the time

¹ *The Newes*, No. 38, May, 1664, and *The Intelligencer*, No. 37, May, 1664: "His Majesty having declared it to be his Royall Will and purpose to continue the Healing of his People for the Evil during this month of May and then to give over till Michaelmas next."

² The *London Gazette*, No. 145, April 8, 1667. *Ibid.*, May, 1667, Nos. 154, 5, 7, 8, 9. April, 1668, Nos. 252 and 254. April, 1670, No. 463. April, 1671, Nos. 565, 6. April, 1672, No. 668. April, 1673, Nos. 771 and 772. In spite of these prohibitions it is interesting to find that Charles touched 133 persons in July, 1671, and 215 in August, and again 116 in June, 1673, see *Charisma*, Appendix.

³ *London Gazette*, No. 1832, June 11, 1683. The prohibition to which the king referred may be found in the *London Gazette* under date April 9, 1683, No. 1814. "His Majestie will not, after this week touch any more for the Evill till towards Michaelmas."

of year, although the number of supplicants for healing in June, July and August, might usually be numbered by scores and even at times by tens or units, as appears from the official registers, as against the hundreds or thousands of the Autumn, Winter and Spring. Easter time and Michaelmas remained always the great healing seasons.

That Charles, like his predecessors, touched during his progresses is evidenced by the Chapel Royal lists of persons coming to be healed. Only four months in twenty-one years, namely one solitary October, one December, one January and one February are entirely blank. Curiously enough, although amongst the cold months, January carries the record of the fewest cases,¹ and a fair number of patients are chronicled in the heat of the summer, when according to regulations we should expect to find none. These entries certainly point to progresses. Large healings, of as many as 227 persons, are entered on one day late in the month of May, 1677, and upwards of 544 in the four weeks in a torn sheet² of the register, now in the manuscripts at Washington in the Surgeon-General's Library. Neither is the Chapel Royal list devoid of summer healings.

We have also in Baptist May's Privy Purse accounts purchases made at Portsmouth, Plymouth and Windsor, in September, 1670, 1678 and 1679.³ Again, information kindly supplied to me by the past and present vicars of Portsmouth, shows that thirty-four persons were touched in that city on September 6, 1683, and five on the 10th of the same month in 1684.⁴ The Exchequer papers are useful, noting in September, 1668, that money was demanded for healing, "the King being now about to goe a progress."⁵

On August 27, 1683, no doubt for the same expedition which included the visit to Portsmouth, we meet with a letter addressed

See *Charisma*, Appendix.

The year date is torn from this sheet, but comparison with Browne's monthly totals indicates that this is 1677. The Washington MSS. are valuable because they give the healings day by day, whereas Browne only notes the totals of each month.

¹ *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Rolls 2795 and 2796. Public Record Office.

⁴ Information supplied by the Rev. R. Medicott and the Rev. W. H. David.

⁵ *MS. Treasury Minute Books*, T. 29, vol. ii, p. 312. P.R.O.

to Charles Duncombe, Treasurer and Cashier of Excise, desiring him to "Forthwith pay £500 into the Exchequer for healing medals, which must be done on your receipt of this, because the King will heal at Winchester as soon as he comes thither, which will be on Wednesday night."¹ It is satisfactory to know that the payment was made on September 1. In the preceding June, one of the usually barred months, we find £100 suddenly requisitioned, "to be paid as soon as possible" with the memorandum, "Paid June 15th."²

Sir Thomas Browne, writing on September 22, 1680, notes that: "The King is at Newmarket and hath good wether for his races and falconrie; divers go from hence to bee touched, butt what chirurgeons are there I yett understand not, nor what physitians attend his Majestie."³ On another occasion, in the preceding October, he mentions writing "unto Serjeant Knight," then obviously in waiting on Charles at Newmarket, and sending "certificates for the Evill for divers."⁴

But there is no need to bring forward further evidence on the custom of healing on progress, irrespective of the season, hot or cold.

The proclamation of January 9, 1683-4, to which I just have had occasion to refer,⁵ was not merely designed for the purpose of limiting somewhat the healing seasons, but was intended to enforce orders too much neglected concerning certificates and registration. It has been mistakenly regarded as indicating a new regulation in ordering that a register should be kept in the parishes, whence the sick came, of the persons to whom ministers and churchwardens had granted certificates. These signed recommendations, as is well known, had been demanded from the time of Charles I onward,⁶ but some doubt has been expressed as to the time when registration of the patients' names was first required, to ensure the fact that they

¹ MS. *Out-letters General*, vol. vii, T. 27, 7, p. 203. P.R.O.

² *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, vol. vii, pp. 834 and 841 and *Dispositions Book* ii, T. 61, 2, p. 236.

³ Browne's Works. Correspondence; edition of 1836, p. 266.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 259. Oct. 2, 1679.

⁵ See our p. III.

⁶ See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, p. 112.

presented themselves for the first time for the king's touch. There is no doubt that, if not general, the practice of keeping such registers was early instituted by many of the parish clergy, and lists of names are found at least as far back as 1673.¹ But this need excite no surprise, for the newspapers of the year 1672 published the direction, "That the Ministers in their respective Parishes do keep a constant Register of such Persons, to whom they give their Certificates."² It is, however, obvious that this regulation was much neglected, and probably owing to the representation of John Browne, whose book on the subject was just published, the Council Meeting, January 9, 1683-4, was called to enforce it, for the *London Gazette* of the following October called attention to continued lapses in this particular and rehearsed the king's commands.³ A printed copy of the Proclamation was placed in all the churches and a blank sample Certificate was pasted into the parish registers and many such may be seen by the curious. Dr. Magrath mentions in his *Flemings in Oxford*⁴ that in the Grasmere Church register is a copy of a certificate dated February 4, 1684, immediately after the issue of the Council

¹ *The King's Evil*, by Dr. Crawford, p. 109. See register at Merstham, Surrey, October 6, 1673. See also *Proceedings*, Hants Field Club, vol. vii, Part iii, pp. xli-xlii, where it is stated that the second volume of the Parish Register of St. Thomas' Portsmouth contains the list of persons, to which I have referred, touched from September, 1683, preceded by a certificate, and this is prior to the issue of the proclamation, although not so early as the above registers at Merstham.

² *London Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1672, No. 731. "His Majesty hath Commanded . . . that Notice be given that no Person whatsoever do come to be Healed of the King's Evil, unless they bring a Certificate under the Hands and Seals of the Ministers and Churchwardens of the Parish they inhabit that they have not been Touched before, and his Majesty requires That the Ministers in their respective Parishes do keep a constant Register of such Persons to whom they give their Certificates."

³ The *London Gazette*, October 20-28, 1684, No. 1975, states that "His Majesties Chirurgeons Complain That notwithstanding his Majesty's Order in Council of the 9th of January last past, there is in some Parishes great neglect in Registering and Sealing Certificates given to those that come to be Touched by His Majesty for the Disease commonly called the King's Evil." Then follow directions that they "be more careful for the future and the certificate is given in full." The same notice is repeated on October 23-27. No. 1976.

⁴ *The Flemings in Oxford*, by Richard Magrath, D.D., vol. i, p. 453, note 3.

Order. It is signed by Henry Fleming as Rector of Grasmere and the Churchwardens, and is to the effect that "David Harrison of the sd Parish aged about fourteen years is afflicted as wee are credibly enformed with the disease comonly called the King's Evil and (to the best of o^r knowledge) hath not heretofore been Touched by his Majesty for ye sd Desease." Such with some slight variation is the formula throughout the reign.¹ But all the insistence in the world did not prevent patients from coming again and again to be touched, be it from belief in the healing power of the royal hand or the hope of obtaining a second or even a third piece of gold, by fraudulently pretending that they had not before been seen by the king.²

But in our search after the precautions with which Charles naturally tried to insure himself against imposition in this fatiguing ceremonial and protection against the growing expenses of the dole, we have wandered far from the actual "healing-piece," which is the subject of our enquiries.

Let us, therefore, return to the summer and autumn of 1660, and see how the matter stood as regarded the coinage, and endeavour to find out what healing-pieces were available for the king's use, in the early days when Charles received all who presented themselves to him, despite the "summer heat." We find³ that at least 2000 or more persons had been "touched" before the order was issued early in August, for engraving the dies for any gold coinage, to which nearly

¹ I purpose to give the words of the usual certificate when later discussing this matter in our next volume, but those curious in such matters will find typical copies from Wadhurst, Sussex, Harewell Chapel, Hertfordshire, and Waterfall, near Leek, in Dr. Crawford's *King's Evil*, pp. 110-111, and I am indebted to the Rev. R. S. Medlicott, late Vicar of Portsmouth, and the Rev. J. G. Paton of South Stoneham, near Southampton, for further information, which I hope to publish later.

² Certain patients came avowedly for a second touch on the failure to cure or the recurrence of the malady, making no secret of their desire. Such a case is mentioned by Dr. Crawford—*King's Evil*, p. 109—of a clergyman who stated that he had been touched twice by Charles II and three times by James II.

³ Browne's *Charisma*, Appendix, Thomas Haynes's List of *Persons touched by his Sacred Majesty King Charles II for the Cure of the King's Evil*. 4466 persons had been touched by Charles by the end of September.

another 2000 patients may be added before thought was bestowed upon the angel coin in particular in the middle of September, 1660.

We have seen that Thomas Simon was commanded to make dies for this angel on September 18, 1660, and the warrant for engraving stamps for silver and gold pieces in general had preceded this order on August 10, the indenture under which they were to be issued being dated July 20.¹ The second coinage, bearing value marks, followed in November, 1661. The trial of the pyx of July 9, 1663, which embraced unites, double crowns and British crowns, must have contained types both with and without value marks, and these samples amounted in coined money to £52.² At the rate of one gold piece to a "journey" of 15 lbs., this does not suggest a very large issue of ten-shilling pieces, seeing that the above-mentioned £52 must cover all denominations. Snelling, however, gives a weight of 945 lbs. as converted into gold money by the end of that year. The new milled coinage consisting of guineas from 1663 onward, unsupplemented by half-guineas until 1669, must have awaited the pyx trial of August in that year, for the preceding pyx, under date July 4, 1664, although clearly devoted to the milled coin, first issued in June, 1662, gives evidence of no gold coins at all, and contained the new silver 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s. 2d., and 1d. pieces only. Until, therefore, the touchpiece comes upon the scene, in 1664-5, the choice of healing-pieces at the disposal of Charles II, even had he earlier abandoned the use of fine standard gold for the purpose,³ was very limited indeed, and we seem driven to the conclusion that he used only the angels of his predecessors, especially those of James I, which are not rare and are more often pierced than the number of patients under that king would appear to justify. Charles II touched 6005 persons between May and January, 1660-1, inclusive, 4617 by the end of February, 1661, 4275 in 1662, 4727 in 1663, and 3358 before the beginning of

¹ See *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2087.

² The "Pyx Trials of the Commonwealth, Charles II and James II," by Henry Symonds, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xv, p. 347.

³ We shall later judge from the Graham manuscripts that Charles preferred fine gold for healing until February, 1664-5, see our p. 157.

October in 1664.¹ The *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 14, p. 209,² under date April 3 to April 10, 1662, noted that "in this and the last year there have been betwixt fifteen and sixteen thousand already touch'd." Although this is, as we see, exaggerative, we have really a total of 22,982 persons coming to be healed in the first four years of Charles' reign, after the Restoration, and against these numbers we must set a comparatively small new coinage of no more than 2137 lb. weight Troy,³ plus the pieces left in circulation at the time of Charles I's death. The young king would naturally not employ, for healing purposes, the coins of the Commonwealth, all of which he made haste to withdraw from circulation.⁴ Pepys, writing on December 11, 1666, tells us of a conversation he "took down in writing from the mouth" of one Temple, who roughly estimated the money then in the country at about £30,000,000. This man informed Pepys that "before the Harp and Cross money was cried down, he and his fellow goldsmiths did make particular trials what proportion that money bore to the old King's money, and they found that generally it come to, one with another, about 25¹ in every 100¹."⁵ . . . "He tells me," writes the diarist, "about 350,000¹ sterling was coined out of the French money, the proceeds of Dunkirke,⁶ so that, with

¹ The totals are mine, for a great number of the columns in the Register, as printed by Browne, are wrongly cast, and I have acted on the presumption that the mistakes lie more probably in the casting of the figures than in the individual items month by month.

² See also *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, No. 14, p. 224.

³ Snelling's *View of the Gold Coinage*, p. 36, whose figures, reckoning gold as he does at £3 17s. 10d. per ounce, show a coinage of £99,867 before the advent of the touchpiece.

⁴ Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, *Charles II*, vol. i, No. 64, Lord Crawford's No. 3326, under date September 7, 1661, calling in "the Cross and Harp money" before December 1, and Nos. 72 and 73, Lord Crawford's Nos. 3342-3343, extending the liberty of passing Commonwealth coins until May 1, 1662.

⁵ *Diary*, vol ii, pp. 348-9.

⁶ Charles II in October, 1662, sold Dunkirke to Louis XIV for 5,000,000 francs. It had been ceded to the English in 1658. In Slingsby's Accounts (Pipe Office), Roll 2088, we find that in November, 1662, 300 chests, each chest containing 5000 crowns, or 20,000 livres Tournois, were paid into the Mint to be coined into English

what was coined of the Cross money, there is new coined about 1,000 000¹, besides the gold, which is guessed about 500,000¹." This estimate of the amount of gold coin issued is not very convincing, for the more reliable Mint Accounts set out the weight of gold coined between July 20, 1660, and December 31, 1662, at 918 pounds, eight ounces, three pennyweights and two grains,¹ and from January 1, 1662, to December 20, 1666, at three thousand four hundred and thirty-one pounds weight, eight ounces, four dwts.² Snelling brings out the account considerably higher, namely at 5568 lbs. for these years,³ but if we be guided by the *Declared Accounts* we have a total coined of 4350 lbs. 4 oz. 7 dwt. 2 grs. by the time when Pepys made his note, and this amount of bullion would produce less than £200,000, and even according to Snelling not more than £260,270, so that the goldsmith's guess of £500,000 must be dismissed as exaggerative.⁴ The amount of the Dunkirke silver is also a little over-stated, nevertheless the remark as to the proportion of old money to new as it passed through his hands is not without interest.

The coins of James I and Charles I were naturally retained in

current money "by ye new way by ye mill Presse." The greater part of this silver, at £3 the pound, which produced £327,725 18s. 1½d., is accounted for in 1663, but some payments are of 1665-1666. This document runs to 1670, but was only audited October 18, 1680. Snelling, by an obvious misprint, gives the entire silver coinage of 1663 as £3,305,077 14s. 0d. This should probably read £305,077, or possibly £330,507. Slingsby's account, which shows that 98,485 lbs. 8 ozs. 9 dwts. 4 grains of the Dunkirke money produced £295,457 2s. 3d., inclines us to believe that the 98,412 lbs. 13 ozs. 18 dwts. 8 grains, stated by Snelling to have been coined in 1663, should not have realised even so large a sum as £300,000, if silver stood at £3 per pound weight.

¹ *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2087.

² *Declared Accounts, Mint Warden's Account*, Bundle 1601, No. 55.

³ Snelling's *View of the Gold Coinage of England*, p. 36.

⁴ The hammered unite was first issued in 1660 at the weight of 140 $\frac{3}{4}$ grains, but in 1661 the second issue followed in or after November, 1661, at 131 $\frac{3}{4}$ grains. The gold coined between 1660 and 1666, as set out in these two Mint Accounts, may be roughly estimated therefore as producing some £190,000. The guineas from 1663 to 1670 maintained the weight of the second unite, but in the latter year there was a final reduction to 129 $\frac{3}{8}$ grains.

circulation, but by a proclamation¹ under date August 26, 1661, their value had been raised and an order issued making "the piece of gold called the Angel, now current at eleven shillings, to be current at eleven shillings, eightpence . . . and the ten-shilling Angel to be current at ten shillings, eight pence."² The other coins experienced a similar rise in rating, and Charles II until the advent of his specially coined medal must have found his healing expenses both troublesome and onerous to meet. True it is that much foreign money was current, and the *Kingdom's Intelligencer*, under date February 11, 1660-1, gives a list of such Spanish and French pieces amongst which the nearest in value to the old Angel are "single ducats to pass at nine shillings," but it is very unlikely that Charles would, apart from his predilection for fine standard gold, use other than English coins for healing. The angels of Charles I were rare, and, as I have suggested in my former article,³ limited possibly to little more than the output actually necessary for "touching" purposes at the time of their coinage. The double crowns, struck previously to 1619 and valued at 11s., being the half of the unites at 22s., were in August, 1660, raised to 11s. 9d., in accordance with the rise to 23s. 6d. of the latter coin. The pieces, issued subsequently to 1619, namely the half-unites or half-laurels of James I and the double crowns of Charles I, which had stood at 10s., were now priced at 10s. 8d., together with the new current half-broads of Charles II himself,⁴

¹ See Lord Crawford's *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, vol. i, No. 3324. Library of Antiquaries, *Charles II*, vol. i, No. 63.

² By this proclamation a distinction was drawn between the angels at 11s., obviously those of James I issued before 1619, weighing $71\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and the coins which followed between that date and the year 1625, weighing at first $65\frac{1}{4}$ grains and then $64\frac{1}{2}$. The angels of Charles I weighing $64\frac{1}{2}$, issued at 10s., were, as we see, raised by this proclamation only to 10s. 8d., a fact noted by Ruding, vol. ii, p. 5, but which appears to have been overlooked by Dr. Kenyon in his *Gold Coins of England*, p. 169, for he draws no distinction between the 10s. and 11s. angels.

³ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, pp. 130-133.

⁴ This is the half-broad at $70\frac{1}{4}$ grains, without value mark, which had been issued at $140\frac{1}{2}$ grains to the unite, the same weight as those of Charles I. The coins with value mark at $131\frac{1}{4}$ grains were issued subsequently to this proclamation.

and were probably less difficult to obtain than the angels, but the half unites of James I and of his son are rarely found pierced with the accuracy denoting official piercing, and I have very seldom seen a half-unite of Charles II's own new coinage with a hole in it.^x These pieces and the half-broads are far more rare than the unites and broads, and on the whole the very large number of James I's pierced angels, in excess of the demand for healing-pieces in the lifetime of that king, leads me to conclude that until Charles II's touchpiece was made, he used his father's angels, and when he could not get them—a frequent occurrence—those of his grandfather or even Elizabeth. We observe in the accounts of the Keeper of the Privy Purse the purchase “on extraordinary occasions” of “angells,” not “healing medalls” be it noted, so late as 1677 and 1678. For coins thus bought on progress, the surgeon, John Knight,¹ appears to have given about 10s. to 10s. 10½d. each.²

In an interesting article on touchpieces published in Canada, our member Mr. R. W. McLachlan put forth some years ago the suggestion that the gap in the history of healing-pieces might have been bridged by the use of a brass or copper touchpiece. He based his theory partly on the then received notion that a small medal, really used, as I have shown, by Charles I, as an entrance ticket to the ceremony, was a true healing-piece, and deemed it likely that Charles II had adopted the base metal token, or coin, catalogued as

¹ John Knight, the purchaser, was appointed Serjeant-Surgeon in 1661. He was one of those who had attended Charles on his voyage from The Hague to Dover at the Restoration in 1660, and was, as Mr. D'Arcy Power tells us in his *Serjeant Surgeons of England and their Office*, constantly employed in matters, both naval and military, connected with the wounded in the Dutch war. John Browne somewhat bitterly complains, in his *Charisma*, p. 93, of the frequency with which “touching medalls were purchasable, being seen and found in Gold Smiths' shops.”

² *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2796, “for ^{xx}iiij xij Angells bought at Plymouth the VIIth of September, 1677 xlvj^{li} and for thirteen peeces bought at Windsor on the xxxth Sepemb^r 1678—vij^{li} xvj^d.” John Knight also bought 94 “pieces” in March and April for £49 5s., namely at 10s. 6d. a piece, but it is not specified that these were angels. Other purchases in 1667–69 and 1669–1670 are described as “medalls” and work out at 9s., 9s. 4d., 9s. 10½d. and 10s. each. See *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2795.



only a forgery." The man told me that he had seen the picture in 1970, and that it was a forgery.

all-important proof of finding an order for making such passes in the Treasury Papers,¹ as I did concerning the tokens of Charles I,² I may be permitted to put forth three arguments in favour of this theory. Firstly, the change in the constituent parts would be useful in checking forgery, as the fraudulent person could not know beforehand what metal the surgeon would use for his pass on any particular occasion. Secondly, we by no means invariably find a hole for suspension as should be the case, if never used for any other purpose. Thirdly, the lettering, the ship and the figure of St. Michael, are all characteristic of the technique in use at the Mint in England at the time when the gold touchpiece was made and the same puncheon portraying the angel on the reverse was certainly used in making the die for Charles II's earliest touchpieces, and for the silver pattern piece figured below in which the workmanship can best be studied.



SILVER PATTERN FOR ADMISSION TICKET.

Broken punches for the obverse and reverse, both of the ship and angel, are in the Mint Museum, and Mr. Hocking refers their use to the touchpiece and halfpenny indifferently.³ The fact that St. Michael's figure fits the gold piece and is somewhat over-margined

¹ I have sought in vain through the Mint Accounts, *Declared Accounts*, *Pipe or Audit Office*, and the Treasury and State Papers Domestic. The declared accounts of the Mint deal with gold and silver, whilst copper is only mentioned as alloy.

² See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, pp. 123-125.

³ *Catalogue of Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint*, by W. J. Hocking, vol. i, Nos. 1366 and 1374, and vol. ii, Nos. 105 and 106. Mr. Hocking kindly informs me that he based his conclusions on the identity of measurement and, so far as could be judged, in the worn state of the punches, on execution and design. As regards the obverse, however, slight details, discernible in very fine specimens, incline me to believe that a new punch was made for the larger piece.

by the large flan of the Soli Deo Gloria Halfpenny (?) should, I venture to suggest, place the healing-piece earlier than the ticket of admission, and we have certain knowledge that the touchpiece first saw the light in February, 1664-5. In default, then, of further evidence, it seems likely that the so-called halfpenny is the admission ticket, officially made to correspond with the new medal in 1665, or even after the expenses of the healing ceremony had been subjected to drastic reform in 1667. In favour of this date I may call attention to the six-pointed star, below the figure of the archangel, a mint-mark which was used on a medal by John Roettiers in 1667. But this cannot be taken as positive proof, inasmuch as a ticket was urgently required and no other suitable jetton is known to us. The fact that a star is also found on earlier patterns, especially those made by David Ramage,¹ must give us pause to think. But Ramage died in or before 1662, and no change ensued in the type of the Halfpenny (?), and there can be little doubt that the successive touchpieces are by one hand, and that the hand of John Roettiers. The collection of dies and puncheons which Matthew Young presented to the British Museum in 1828,² although it embraces many medals by different members of the Roettiers family, contains by no means all the pieces mentioned in the list of those left in the possession of Norbert Roettiers's widow in 1728. We cannot, therefore, regard its absence from this collection as any proof it was not made by one of the three Roettiers brothers. We must remember that such dies and puncheons as were of an official nature were confiscated by William III's government in 1697,³ when

¹ Some of the pattern farthings are signed R, and have been attributed to Thomas Rawlins, who lived until 1670, but I think all those with the mullet are by David Ramage, the maker of several pattern pieces by mill and screw under the Commonwealth. He continued to work for Charles II. The exact date of his death is not known, but his widow is mentioned in November, 1662, as still living at the Mint and refusing to move on the death of her husband. See *Calendar State Papers Domestic*, 1662, p. 548.

² For the description of this collection, see "Concerning some Roettiers Dies," by Helen Farquhar, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xvii, pp. 126-165.

³ See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 257-260, "Portraiture of the Stuart Monarchs," by Helen Farquhar, and MS. *Treasury Book*, T. 29, vol. ix, p. 253.

John and James Roettiers were accused of working for the exiled Stuarts and some pieces, being considered as compromising, were concealed and destroyed by the artists themselves during the enquiry into their affairs in that year.

There is in the Mint Museum yet another punch, portraying St. Michael, on a slightly larger scale than that to which I have referred. The archangel is described in the catalogue as "in full armour and with a halo." "He strides," writes Mr. Hocking, "across the dragon, which has a larger head and is without the protruding tongue."¹ Whether this be the punch for an earlier admission ticket, who shall say? Mr. Hocking has identified this punch with no medal known to us, and I must wait until the Mint Museum, closed during the war, is again open before I can form any personal opinion as to workmanship or date, which might suggest a decision. Was the punch made for the missing token specially ordered by Charles I, or some unknown angel? Or yet again, was it an early admission ticket of Charles II? The fact that tickets after the Restoration were used from 1660 onward is quite clear. In the pressure of work at the Mint, it is, however, possible that, at first, written or non-metal passes were given out by the physicians, for the more urgent affair of the touch-piece itself did not receive attention until February 24, 1664-5.

I might even venture to suggest in this connection the possible use of the so-called farthing tentatively ascribed by Mr. Montagu to the time of Charles I,² bearing the legend LORD—GIVE THY —BLESSING. It is more characteristic of the latter than of the former half of the seventeenth century in respect of workmanship, and the author of *The Copper Coins of England* indeed glances at the possibility that it may not have been struck until after the death of Charles I.³ Dr. Parkes-Weber called attention in *The Lancet* of June 27, 1914, to the suitability of this little jetton to the purposes

¹ *Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, No. 109.

² Montagu 7. *Copper Coins of England*, p. 23.

³ "It is possible," writes Mr. Montagu, "that this piece is a jetton struck on and after the execution of the king."



DRAWING OF A TOUCHPIECE OR ADMISSION TICKET IN THE WASHINGTON LIBRARY.

of a healing pass, but ascribed it to the time of the first Charles, when, as we have seen,¹ another medalette held the field until it was supplanted by one of a larger size "in bredthe the compasse of an angell," a requirement not fulfilled by the farthing (?) known as Montagu 7.

I take this opportunity of reproducing from the Washington collection a sketch on an enlarged scale of a touchpiece or admission ticket of Charles II. Like the drawing used by Charles I's surgeon, illustrated in our last volume, this pen and ink sketch was no doubt made early in the nineteenth century.² Whether the collector of these manuscripts now in the Surgeon-General's Library had seen a variant of the official pass or a touchpiece and left it thus on record, we are, alas, unable to say. Possibly he omitted finishing touches and forgot to add the angel's wings and the protruding tongue of the dragon, but in view of the unidentified punch in the Mint Museum, I have thought it worth while to place the drawing in our volume, although I am unable at present to say whether it bears, excepting in this latter particular of the tongue, any resemblance to the punch.

In our last volume I gave details concerning the fabrication within the Mint of Charles I's official pass, because unauthorised persons had copied that issued by his surgeon and had fraudulently obtained admission to the healing service for the sake of the gold angel. But it may be well to give proofs that Charles II was not less upon his guard than his father had been against imposition. The *Mercurius Publicus*³ and *Parliamentary Intelligencer*⁴ of the early weeks of July, 1660, state that "Tickets" for the Friday healings were to be obtained every Wednesday and Thursday. "Mr. Knight, his Majesty's Chirurgion, living at the Cross Guns in Russel Street, Covent Garden, over against the Rose tavern," signified his readiness to be "at his house" on these days "from two till six of

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, pp. 121—126.

² See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xii, facing p. 120.

³ *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 27, p. 430, July 2-9, 1660.

⁴ *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, No. 28, July 2-9, 1660.

the clock to attend that service." He was, moreover, willing to wait upon "any person of quality at their own lodgings."¹

Let us turn to the official orders issued on this subject, namely *The Ordinances made by King Charles II for the Government of his Household*,² which although undated, must obviously have been compiled shortly after the Restoration, and in them we shall find directions concerning access to the royal presence. "Whereas many infirm persons resort for healing to Our Court and first for their probation flock to the lodgings of our Chirurgion within Our House (which is not only noysome, but very dangerous in time of infection) Wee command that henceforth no such resort be permitted within Our House, but that probation of such persons as are to be brought to Our presence be made in other places, without admitting any into the House till the day for healing be appointed by Us and order given for the same by Our Lord Chamberlain or Vice-Chamberlain who only are to move us in this."

In July, 1662, official regulations concerning touching appear and may be read in the *State Papers Domestic*.³ They run as follows: "That the Serjeant Surgion in waiting doe give Ticketts only to those that have the Evill apparent, and those that are doubtful be ordered to attend the day before his Matie appoints to heale for a further examination of the Serjeant-Surgeon with one (at the least) of his Mat's Physitians and likewise Surgeons. That the people are prepared for his Ma^{ties} hand as they come w^{thout}

¹ *Mercurius Publicus*, No. 30, p. 465, July 19-26, 1660, informs the public that they should "repair to Mr. Knight, his Majesty's Chyrurgion, who lives in Great Bridges Street at the Sign of the Hare in Covent Garden on Tuesday and Thursday next, being the 24 and 26 instant of this July when and where they will receive tickets for the Wednesday and Friday, which two days his Majesty is pleased to set apart for this so pious and charitable work." It seems, therefore, that Mr. Knight changed his address at this period, having probably found his lodgings "at the Cross Guns in Russel Street" too restricted.

² *Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household in Divers Reigns*, published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, p. 352.

³ MS. *State Papers Domestic*, Carl. ii, vol. lvii, No. 16, July 4, 1662. Endorsed "Surgeons, to be communicated to my Ld. Chamberlain."

distinctōn, except at general healings. Then those that come far off, before those that are neare. That noe Ticketts be delivered by the Serjeant-Surgeon but to the proper person of his or her that hath the Evill only. That none be examined nor Ticketts given to any at Whitehall. That nothing be demanded of the people by the Surgeon as his fee." The arrangements for the Surgeon's attendance to interview the patients had, as we have seen, been earlier advertised in the newspapers in 1660, but this fresh regulation may have been promulgated to avoid favouritism and establish the rule of non-payment, the ordinary fee of a physician being an angel at its original value of 6s. 8d.

John Browne, when in office as Consulting-Surgeon, was anxious further to organise the process of investigation and, writing towards the end of the year 1683, suggested that it would be wiser that some settled place should be chosen by the king where two surgeons and a physician might attend weekly, instead of receiving the sick at their own houses, and this was eventually done. Browne complained that "As the Case now is, its harder to approach the Chirurgeon than obtain a Touch."¹ And Evelyn tells us that in 1684 an accident occurred owing to the crowd. "There was," writes the Diarist, "so great a concourse of people with their Children to be touch'd for the Evil that six or seven were crush'd to death by pressing at the Chirurgeon's doore for tickets."²

It was probably as a result of Browne's advice that a building was chosen situated on king's property, but not in the vicinity of the palace, namely, "the Meuse," as the royal stables in the neighbourhood of St. Martins-in-the-Fields were then called.³

¹ *Charisma*, p. 89.

² Evelyn's *Diary*, March 28, Good Friday, 1684, vol. iii, p. 113, of edition of 1827.

³ Dr. Crawford tells us, in his *King's Evil*, p. 108, that "the Meuse was the name given to the royal stables, situated close to the present site of St. Martins-in-the-Fields. It had originally been the place in which the royal falcons were kept, but when Henry VIII's stables were burnt down he transferred them to this building, which, however, was not rearranged for the accommodation of horses until long after his death. The name, which is a corruption of 'The Mews,' survived the

In the reign of James II the *London Gazette*, under date October 4, 1686, gives notice that the doctors would attend at "the Meuse upon Thursday afternoons to give out tickets," but at the time of which we are speaking, early in the reign of Charles II, others besides Mr. Knight must already have been deputed to give out the requisite passes, for it was impossible for one man to examine more than two hundred people in the course of an afternoon. The healing registers,¹ of which fragments survive in the Surgeon-General's Library at Washington, bear a variety of signatures, namely those of "Hum. Paynter" with John Knight in 1667, and

transformation and has passed into the currency of metropolitan parlance." Were it not for this information as to the locality of the Meuse, we might have been disposed to wonder whether Babmaes Mews, which lies between Jermyn Street and St. James's Square, not far from Piccadilly, did not by its name point to some connection with the healing, Baptist May being Keeper of the Privy Purse to Charles II and still responsible for the arrangements concerning touching when the fresh orders were issued in January, 1684-5.

¹ Several leaves from these registers were printed in "A Relic of the King's Evil in the Surgeon-General's Library," by Fielding Garrison, M.D., published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, April, 1914.

* I find no mention of Pile or Pyle in the Calendar of Treasury Books from 1660-67, but in April, 1668, he received part of his arrears of £773 6s. 8d. on his fees of £80 and £26 13s. 4d. as one of the King's Surgeons. See *Ibid.*, 1667-8, p. 549. His appointment of Sergeant-Surgeon, carrying the pay of 40 marks, was under date 1642. Sackville Whittle received £40 a year as "one of the King's Chirurgeons." John Knight was made Sergeant-Surgeon 1661. Humphrey Paynter, Sergeant-Surgeon 1661-70, Richard Wiseman, Surgeon-Extraordinary 1665-70, and Sergeant-Surgeon 1670-76. John Browne speaks of Knight as giving out tickets, see *Charisma*, pp. 190-91, and appears also to have dispensed them himself, p. 177. Richard Pyle married the niece of Sergeant-Surgeon Clowes, who had served the late king from his accession and died some months before his royal master. Humphrey Paynter or Painter, whose name appears in the Treasury Books, was "one of the king's Chirurgeons," receiving £120 and also £26 13s. 4d. on 23 September, 1668." (*Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1667-8, p. 620). Mr. D'Arcy Power, in his *Serjeant-Surgeons of England*, states that the yearly fee of that office was originally 40 marks, i.e., £26 13s. 4d., and that one of the perquisites was that of diet, called "a bouge at Court." This was reckoned at about £200 a year, and was temporarily commuted for that sum by Dr. William Harvey on the commencement of the Civil War. All fees were unpunctually paid, and all surgeons did not receive the same pay; Richard

of J. Knight again with " Ri. Pile " in 1671, of Sackville Whittle in 1677, and of Wiseman as well as Knight and Pile on a torn and undated page, which by the kindness of Dr. Garrison I am enabled to reproduce here. If the original collector of these papers was right in suggesting in pencil on the MS. that " N. Du^zelme, clerk of y^e Closett " stands for Nathaniel Crew, Bishop of Durham, the leaf here illustrated cannot be prior to 1674, the year of Crew's translation to that see from Oxford. I have given, so far as I am able in a note, the dates of the various surgeons, but I have not found it possible by comparison with the Chapel Royal Register, copied by Browne, exactly to date some of these torn papers, which were, I should think, lists kept by the doctors in giving out passes while those of the Chapel show the attendance. Other leaves printed by Dr. Garrison are dated 1669, 1671 and 1679 respectively, whilst another undated page is clearly, from other evidence, of the year 1677.

The fact that such registers were kept is very helpful to the historian, and with the exception of the years 1665 and 1666, and 1683 to 1685, we can by means of those brought before us by Browne,¹ inaccurate although they are in minor details of casting, determine fairly successfully the yearly average of healing under

Pyles or Pyle, for instance, as " Principal Chirurgeon," drew altogether £256 13s. 4d. (See Treasury Books as above, p. 559.) Several of the King's Physicians received £100 a year in virtue of their office.

¹ *Charisma Basilicon*, Appendix. Browne evidently did not quite finish his book until December, 1683, although the permission to publish is dated February, 1682-3. The earliest printed edition of the three parts under the title of *Adenochoiradelogia* bears date 1684. And *Charisma* as a separate book does the same. Of the three prefaces that of the whole volume is dated December 13, 1683-4. The first section, *Adenographia*, has no individual introduction, the second treatise, *Chæradologia*, has a notice " to the Reader," dated April 3, 1683, whilst the *Charisma Basilicon*, undated, quotes at the end a letter, written on December 10, 1683, which according to Browne " came very lately to my Hands," see *Ibid.*, p. 189. In Professor Arber's *Term Catalogue*, *Adenochoiradelogia* is placed under date Michaelmas, 1683, and I find the book advertised for sale in the *London Gazette* of January 7-10, 1683-4. It is therefore obvious that the date on the title page of each successive part, 1684, is according to new style.

K 2

Charles II. But, as we must bear in mind that as the number of patients in the recorded years varies from some 3000 to over 8500, showing a fairly steady increase, it is more instructive to limit ourselves to the grand total. The figures usually quoted are those of Browne, who cast the Chapel Royal official lists as 92,107, but either he was no arithmetician, or misprints occur in his published transcripts, or he knew of an unchronicled healing after the cessation of the register in September, 1664, or again included some persons, who had presented themselves since he copied the register and before he issued his book. The numbers he printed cast correctly should be 90,761, and to these we must add the patients touched from April onwards in 1683 and in 1684, including also the first two months of 1685, according to the new style of reckoning. By the help of the *Declared Accounts*, at the Public Record Office this may be done, and we find also a little information concerning the period between September, 1664, and May, 1667 when the official lists are dumb. By these *Declared Accounts* we see that 2000 pieces were made for Lord FitzHarding, the Keeper of the Privy Purse, after the introduction of the new "healing-piece," i.e., between February, 1664-5, and his death in June, 1665,¹ whilst in the course of his successor's tenure of office 80,616 pieces passed through the hands of Baptist May,² of which 1905 were left in his keeping on the king's death. The king, therefore, must have touched, without taking into consideration such persons as may have presented themselves for healing in the unchronicled months, between September, 1664 and the issue of the new touchpiece at the end of the following February, 1664-5, at least 103,693 persons.³ Taking the average of those five winter

¹ *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2091.

² *Ibid.*, Rolls 2091, 2795, and 2796.

³ Per Browne's Chapel Royal register from May, 1660, to September, 1664, 22,982 persons received angels, at roughly speaking 10s. and possibly at 11s. Supplied to the Privy Purse between February, 1664-5, and June, 1665, 2000 pieces. Supplied to Baptist May between June, 1665, and February, 1667-8, 1500 pieces. Between this date and the king's death 79,116 pieces, of which 1905 remained on hand. The greater proportion of these medals were at 9s. or 9s. 2d. each, but those first and last issued were less expensive, but of this more anon.

months in the previous four years, we may safely assume about 2000 patients presented themselves, and I think we shall not be far out if we believe that between Charles II's return to England in May, 1660, and his death in March, 1684-5, he touched between 105,000 and 106,000 of these unfortunates at an expense in healing-pieces alone of roughly speaking some £49,000.¹ Let us see, therefore, what we learn of the history of the healing-piece from papers in the Public Record Office, the Royal Mint, and one or two private collections.

The *Treasury Books* of Charles II have been fully and ably calendared, and of these, the volumes extending from 1681-85, which have recently appeared, have proved the most helpful, but unfortunately the first of the Calendars, covering the years 1660 to 1667, contains hardly anything concerning healing. This is perhaps not strange in that it was only in 1667-8 that the great revision of Charles II's expenditure resulted in an order to the effect that the "healing" accounts should be referred to an auditor.² Fortunately, this period is bridged from February, 1664-5 onward by some documents in the Royal Mint, and the mention in Slingsby's *Declared Accounts*³ of medals made for healing purposes before the Privy Purse expenditure was submitted to examination. In the *Treasury Books*, however, the solitary index reference I found to "Healing Medals" in the Calendar during the early years of Charles II's reign is a payment of £500 on April 20, 1661, to Alderman Backwell "for the Medals."⁴ What are these medals? Backwell later lent

¹ Lord Macaulay, in his *History of England*, vol. iii, p. 479, ed. 1855, who fairly correctly estimated the number of persons touched by Charles II as "near a hundred thousand," believed the expense to have been "little less than ten thousand pounds a year." Even including salaries and all extras this is an exaggeration. The charges varied greatly from year to year, and it was late in the reign before they exceeded £4000 in the twelve months, although at one moment they were estimated at £6000 per annum. See our p. 144.

² *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. 2, p. 235. Wednesday, 1st of July, 1668, "The Privy Purse accot. for Healing money to be referred to an audr."

³ *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Rolls 2088 and 2091.

⁴ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1660-67, p. 237. Early Entry Book XIV, p. 115, T. 51, vol. 14, p. 115. "And £500 to Mr. Alderman Backwell for the Medalls."

large sums of money to the Treasury, advancing a good deal towards healing, but if these "medals" were really, as suggested in brackets in his index by the calendarer, intended for this purpose, were they admission tickets? The order for the making of the touchpiece is amongst the Royal Mint muniments, and there can be no mistake about its later date. Personally, in default of further evidence, I should be inclined to think coronation medals rather than healing medals were provided by Backwell,¹ for I have given my reasons for thinking the "Soli Deo Gloria Halfpenny" to be of rather later striking. But this is not to say that Backwell may not have provided some metal pass, probably outside the Mint, although £500 sounds a startling sum for the production of tokens at about 2d. a piece such as were ordered in the time of Charles I. It is conceivable that "medal" may have been written for pierced "angel," for although this coin was still current, Backwell as a banker may have been called upon to collect them. Unfortunately, the *Treasury Books* do not refer to the change from coin to the healing-piece, inaugurated in February, 1664-5, but in this instance a contemporary copy of a warrant amongst the papers at the Royal Mint comes to our assistance. Mr. W. J. Hocking, who with his usual kindness has given me all available information on the subject, permits me to quote the following from his *Catalogue of the Mint Museum*.

"The coinage of angels having been discontinued, Charles II ordered special pieces to be struck at the Mint for use as touchpieces or healing-pieces. The date of the Royal Warrant is 25th February, 1664-5. The pieces were to be 22 carats fine, and to have a ship on one side with the inscription CARO. II, D.G. M. BR. FR. ET

Letter from Lord Southampton to Sir Richard Browne, Lord Mayor of the City of London, April 20, 1661, concerning a loan of 60,000^{li}. asking same to be paid to certain persons. Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton, Lord High Treasurer from 1660—died in 1667.

¹ Edward Backwell, Alderman of London, banker and goldsmith, was much employed by Charles II's Government in money transactions and the negotiation of loans, some being privately made on his own account.

HIB. REX., and, on the other, St. Michael and the Dragon, as formerly used, with the words, SOLI. DEO. GLORIA. The weight of the pieces was to be at the rate of 106 to the troy lb. or 54·3 grains each. They were to be delivered to the Keeper of the Privy Purse, perforated to receive a riband. The weight of gold to be coined was 63 lbs. 9 oz. 3 dwts. 15 grns. of 22 carats fine. This amount would yield some 6700 pieces.”¹

In the touchpiece, as we know it, the name of Carolus was further contracted from CARO., as specified above, to CAR. and the titles to D·G·M·B·FR·ET HI·REX, a space being left for piercing between FR· and ET·. The weight of such specimens as I have had the opportunity of testing, varies from 53 to 55 grains; I have even found examples turning the scale at 55·5 grs., and myself possess one of this heavy weight. The *Graham Papers*, published by the Royal Historical Commission, contain additional information,



TOUCHPIECE OF CHARLES II.

concerning this first touchpiece, but as I shall presently have to quote the document in its entirety, I will only say now, that the writer, probably Henry Slingsby, Master of the Mint, mentions that the current gold piece having reached the value of 11s. 6d., the king “by reason of the difficulty and charge in the providing such fine gold,” had in 1664 ordered the crown gold medal to be struck “in value about 8s. 4d. in proportion to the guineas at 20s.”

Now if we take into consideration that this order was issued late in the year 1664, according to the old style of reckoning, or early in 1665 according to the new, it seems curious that the matter should

¹ *Royal Mint Museum Catalogue*, by W. J. Hocking, vol. i, p. 126.

have been set in hand at a moment when we should otherwise have assumed, owing to the long hiatus in the Chapel Royal register, that few if any healings were held.

No entries were, as we have seen, copied by Browne from this list covering the months between September, 1664, and May, 1667, and yet the Mint Accounts have shown us that an order was issued, which might result in a coinage of 6700 pieces in the February following the earlier of these dates. This number of touchpieces would have provided for more patients than were then usually received in a whole year,¹ but it is not necessary to conclude that the entire amount was struck at one time.² We must assume that the medals were intended for the Easter of 1665,³ and the month preceding that feast, but if we were guided by the register only, we should have been constrained to conclude that not only were the March and April healings abandoned, but also the usual receptions from the 1st of November to the week before Christmas, 1664, when one case only of plague was reported in London.⁴ Against this

¹ The register kept by Thomas Haynes gives 6005 persons touched in 1660, 4617 in 1661, 4275 in 1662, 4727 in 1663, and 3358 in the months from March to September inclusive in 1664. Browne, whose arithmetic appears defective, casts the figures as 6725, 4619, 4275, 4667, and 3358.

² We shall discuss this question later (see our pp. 140-143). We have evidence that the coinage of the touchpieces was often effected only as required. On March 29, 1669, for instance, we read in the *Treasury Minutes*, I, 29, vol. iii, p. 64:—"A warrrt for healing medalls to make up halfe of what ye order of Council ordered for yt use on yt found."

³ See *Proclamation* of July 4, 1662, *Calendar State Papers Domestic*, 1661-2, p. 45, and *Mercurius Publicus*, July 10-17, 1662, No. 28, p. 439, which gives these dates as those established for healings by Charles II. They were later changed slightly, the time from Christmas to March 1 being substituted for the month preceding Easter, but the King again received his patients in Passion week. See *London Gazette*, No. 1878, January 24-28, 1683, Order in Council of January 9, 1683, see our pp. 111 and 113.

⁴ See *Bills of Mortality for this present year beginning December, 1661, and ending December following*, etc., compiled in 1665 and reprinted in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. ii, pp. 11 to 124 in 1808. The causes of death in the 130 parishes then constituting London are various, and King's Evil frequently figures. As many as four cases sometimes occur in one week, and in the course of the year, 86. The plague total is given at 68,596.

latter hypothesis we have strong presumptive evidence. The question of Easter is more doubtful. The latest newspaper report, however, which rewarded my search was in the issues of 1664, and is of the usual May postponement. "His sacred Majesty having Declared it to be his Royal Will and Purpose to continue the Healing of his People for the Evil during this month of May, and then to give over till Michaelmas next, I am commanded to give Notice thereof that People may not come up to the Town in the Interim and lose their labour."¹ That this Michaelmas healing took place we see from the list kept by the "Serjeant of His Majesties Chapel Royal," who notes 303 patients in September, 1664. At this date the register kept by Thomas Haynes breaks off, and it was in May, 1667, resumed by another hand, that of Thomas Donkley, the Keeper of the King's Closet. This was the year when the regulations for healing came under discussion, and it is possible that the keeping of the register had fallen into arrears in 1664. The cessation of access to court is naturally attributable to the great plague of 1665-6, but whereas this scourge is mentioned in nearly every newspaper of the summer months of 1665 and throughout 1666 until the fire purged the city,² we find occasional references to the sickness, in foreign ports only, until a considerable time after the Christmas healing should have taken place, and we may assume that the usual Easter ceremonial had been in contemplation and was perhaps not entirely stopped by

¹ *The Newes*, No. 38, p. 305, May 12, 1664, and *The Intelligencer*, No. 37, May 9, 1664. These valuable newspapers were not available for a time during the war, and in spite of special facilities kindly given me, my examination was slightly hurried, and I cannot definitely state that some publications between 1664-7 may not have escaped me.

² *The Newes*, June 4, 1665, No. 43, gives an account of the plague, which had already reached a considerable strength. By the following February, see *London Gazette*, No. 28, it was considered safe for the King to return to London, but the number of deaths was still reported in almost alternate numbers of the *London Gazette* throughout April, May, June, July and August, 1666, Nos. 43, 45, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 59, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 78, 81 and 83. In No. 84 the great fire of September 2 is reported.

the pestilence. Pepys first alludes to the plague as in London upon April 30, 1665,¹ but even so early as November 26, 1663, he mentions that quarantine for thirty days had been established between England and Amsterdam, where it was already prevalent.²

Of the Michaelmas healing that autumn there could be no question. At the end of August, 1665, Pepys tells us that 6100 or more persons died of the plague in the city in one week.³ A letter written on the 29th of the month mentions that "a Proclamation is made to hinder any coming to the King to be touched unless presented by the peculiar officers."⁴ On the 30th Parliament was prorogued till October 3 at Westminster, and further prorogued until the 9th at Oxford, and again from February to April, 1666, and then from April to September.⁵ There are various proclamations forbidding access to the University City,⁶ prohibiting the holding of Fairs,⁷ ordering the postponement of Term⁸ and finally on May 11, 1666, rules were published concerning the fencing off of the plague pits,⁹ but the convening of any public gathering remained forbidden

¹ *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 266, edition of 1828, "great feare of the sicknesse here in the City, it being said that two or three houses are already shut up. God preserve us all." The Bills of Mortality mentioned two cases in outlying parishes, but none within the walls nor in the city or liberties of Westminster between April 18 and 25; no cases at all between April 25 and May 2, but 9 from May 2 to 9. Towards the end of this month we get into double figures, but do not reach hundreds until the second week in June. By July 25 more than half the parishes were infected.

² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 301. In July and August successive lists show 470, 725, 1089, 1843, 2010, 2817, 3380, 4237 and 6102 cases. The highest number of deaths recorded from plague in one week is 7165, between the 12th and 19th of September, 1665, when, of the 130 parishes of London, only four were clear of the pestilence.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Carl II, 1664-5, p. 538.

⁵ See Lord Crawford's *Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, vol. i, Nos. 3433, 3434, 3453 and 3457. There were issued, as Mr. Robert Steele tells us in his Introduction, p. cvi, no fewer than 22 proclamations dealing with plague in 1665-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 3441.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nos. 3431, 3432 and 3462.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 3439, 3452.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 3461.

and cases of sickness still occurred. Then came the cleansing outbreak of fire on September 2, 1666, but it is quite possible that large public healings did not recommence even so early as May, 1667. Still a considerable time remains unaccounted for in the official register both before the infection reached London and after the fire had purified the town, and this inclines me to suggest that possibly Browne's estimate of 92,107 may have included private healings at least, if not public, within this period.¹ We find during the gradual abatement of the infection, a letter written under date March 24, 1665-6, by one J. Dobson to Joseph Williamson, Lord Arlington's secretary, asking his intervention on the part of a lady, who earnestly desired to have her daughter touched. The writer asks his friend whether "if there be no opportunity shortly to have it done more conveniently, you cannot be a means to procure her to be toucht privately."² If such a petition could then be preferred (we know not whether it was granted) it is likely that many would follow as the plague slowly decreased. Similar requests were made through the same secretary and one may be found even in the very month when the lists kept by Thomas Donkley prove the resumption of public healings, for we have another appeal under date September 6, 1667,³ a month in which 109 persons presented themselves for the king's touch,⁴ and probably John Dixon, the petitioner, was one of these.

¹ The 78 patients touched in May, June, July and August, in 1667, were probably received in private and on progress.

² MS. *State Papers Domestic*, Carl II, vol. 152, No. 10.

³ MS. *State Papers Domestic*, Carl II, vol. ccxvi, No. 83. "Upon the desire of the bearer John Dixon our neighbour and parishioner who is (as he hath the opinion of some of the surgeons) troubled with the Evill, we make our desire that you will do that charitable kindnesse to provide for him his gracious Mat^{ies} touch for the Cure of the said disease and thereby yo^{rs} will oblige Sir yo^r affectionate servant John Lamplugh." Signed also by Geo. Lamplugh and Pickering Hewer, and addressed to Jos. Williamson, Lord Arlington's secretary.

⁴ Appendix to Browne's *Charisma*. Donkley's List begins in May, 1667, with the healing of 10 patients only: 32 persons presented themselves in June, 21 in July and 15 in August. Clearly these point to private healings. The public healings began as usual at Michaelmas. We notice that the 1500 pieces provided to "the

[This Michaelmas healing in 1667 had been foreshadowed in several numbers of the *London Gazette*, to which I have already referred.¹ Throughout April, May and June, the announcements of the usual temporary cessation of the receptions appeared. These postponements make no allusion to the late plague, and the words in the April notice "there shall be no further Public touching till the heats be over" is suggestive that the king had in 1667 received his patients in Passion week and Easter,² as in the time before the pestilence had put a stop to such proceedings, but concerning this we have no certain evidence. Nevertheless, Browne's lists show that persons were received, at least privately, in May and June, but it is only in the former of these two months that a Privy Seal warrant enabled Baptist May to obtain 1500 medals,³ a stock which can hardly have lasted him until the new provisions of February 25, 1667-8, came into force,⁴ and until this, the previous May 22, he, with the exception of a few medals bought on progress early in February, must have relied on the surplus of his predecessor in office.

Privy Purse" under his Warrant of May 22, 1667, would not quite cover the expenditure until February 25; there must therefore have been some few medals on hand from his predecessor's store.

¹ See our page 113, *London Gazette*, Nos. 154, 155, 157, 158 and 159: "There will be no further Touching for the Evil till Michaelmas."

² *London Gazette*, No. 145, April 8, 1667. This was Easter Monday.

³ *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2091.

⁴ Although some 6700 medals should have been produced by the amount of gold set aside for the purpose in 1664-5, only 2000 appear to have been delivered to the then Privy Purse. If an Easter healing was held in March, 1664-5, see our p. 136, there may yet have been a small surplus, which would naturally come into Baptist May's hands on the death of Lord Falmouth (Charles Berkeley, Viscount FitzHarding) in June, 1665. There is, as we shall see, no evidence of a delivery to Baptist until May, 1667, when he received 1500. We have thus a deficit of 3200 medals, and it is just possible he might have obtained these for ready money from Slingsby, paying for them from his general Privy Purse account. In this case the Mint Master would naturally be responsible for the money, for which his widow was in 1690 called to account, after his death. There is, however, no evidence of this, and if the surplus medals were made, it is more likely that they passed into the account from 1667 to 1673.

Let us turn for a moment to these *Declared Accounts* of the Mint at the Public Record Office, for detailed information concerning these first healing-pieces, issued under the order of February, 1664-5.¹

Henry Slingsby, the Mint Master, after giving details concerning the recoinage for the French money paid for the cession of Dunkirk, continues as follows: "Alsoe this Accountant is allowed ye money he paid by his Mat^r speciall Order dated ye xxvth of Feb^ry 1664 unto Henry Brounker Esq^{re}² for the use of ye royall Company trading into Affrica in satisfaction of lxij^{lb. wt.} ix^{oz.} iij^{dwt.} xv^{grs.} of Crowne Gold of xxij Carrats fine upon ye pound weight deliver'd unto this Accountant by ye said Henry Brounker for making of Meddalls for healing by ye Mill & Presse accord to ye Medall specified in ye Ord^r to be delivered by weight of Tale unto ye then Lord Viscount Fitzharding³, late Keep of the Privy Purse as by said Order and ye receipt of ye said Henry Brounker apprs ye sume of $\overset{1}{M} \overset{1}{M} \overset{6}{IX} \text{ lxx iij}^{\text{v}}."$

But the matter of this large number of medals remains somewhat

¹ *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2088. Henry Slingsby's account from 1662 to 1670, of coinage resulting from the "Sale of Dunkirke," audited on February 14, 1680.

² Henry Brounker, who succeeded his brother William as third Viscount Brounker in 1684, was cofferer to Charles II and Gentleman-in-waiting to James Duke of York. He became later Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. He died in January, 1687-8.

³ Charles Berkeley, first Viscount FitzHarding, created first Earl Falmouth in March, 1664-5, the predecessor of Baptist May as Privy Purse, held the office until his death in June, 1665, having in his turn succeeded Henry Bennet, first Lord and afterwards Earl of Arlington. The latter had resigned this appointment on taking up the post of Secretary of State on the retirement of Sir Edward Nicholas in October, 1662. From his entering on his duties on his return from Madrid soon after the Restoration, we find in the Treasury Books large sums such as £10,000 or £5,000 paid to the use of the Privy Purse, often to discharge some particular debt, but healing is not specified, and the same may be said of his successor, Lord FitzHarding. Similarly large sums were often paid to Baptist May, but his *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Rolls 2795 and 2796, enable us to sift the matter. The last general payment or the Privy Purse (not for healing) to FitzHarding is under date March 13, 1664-5, see *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. i, p. 653, for £10,000; a like payment was made to Baptist May on the following September 8. *Ibid.*, p. 683.

puzzling. How long they were expected to last we cannot exactly tell, for the Keeper of the Privy Purse was not then expected to give an account of the pieces consigned to his care. We have evidence only of the delivery of 3500 out of the amount computed by Mr. Hocking at 6700, but if the balance of 3200 remained on hand it seems curious that Henry Slingsby, the Mint Master, when suspended from office in 1680, should not have endeavoured in his lifetime to clear up the matter.¹ His widow, Ann Slingsby, rendered a supplementary account in 1690 to the Government of William and Mary concerning some outstanding liabilities, principally of the Dunkirke coinage, balancing against them such items as a bequest from Blondeau of sundry arrears of his salary in 1681, and May's own allowances whilst suspended from office and so on.² She admits that he had been paid for the gold he had received from "Henry Brounker Esq^r afterwards Lord Brounker for providing of healing medals pursuant to a warr^t from his late Ma^{tie} Charles the Second." She defined this sum as £2974 5s., and gives the date, February 25, 1664-5. This is obviously the same warrant to which Mr. Hocking referred and which we have just reported from the account delivered in Slingsby's lifetime. Against this she states that there is "allowed this Accomptant the value of severall healing pieces or Meddalls made and delivered by her said late husband according to severall warr^{ts} from his late Ma^{tie} King Charles the Second, vizt for $\overset{1}{M} \overset{1}{M}$ healing pieces weight xvij^{lb.} wt. vij^{oz.} xij^{dwt.} xvij^g delivered ye Earle of Falmouth, then keeper of his said Mat^{ies} Privy Purse by warr^t dated xxv of Febr'y 166 $\frac{4}{5}$ by $\overset{c}{x} \overset{ii}{vj} \overset{c}{xiii} \overset{g}{j}$. For $\overset{c}{mv}$ like Meddalls or healing pieces weighing

¹ The Affairs of the Mint were for a time executed by Commission and an enquiry was held, ending, in the following reign, in his deprivation, and his accounts were finally passed, after his death, by his widow in 1690, under William and Mary. She succeeded in balancing the large sum of upwards of £27,000, for which he was held liable, but only by setting the massed expenses and receipts the one against the other and the matter of the healing medals does not balance by £1383 3s.

² *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Roll 2091.*

xiiij^{lb. wt.} xj^{oz.} xviiij^{dwt.} xii^s delivered to Baptist May Esqre according to a like warr^t from his said Ma^{tie} dated the xxij of May 1667 vj lxxxvij^{li} xix^s and for charges in passing the said Warr^t vj^{li} ix^s. In all as by the said Warr^t and the severall Acqui^{ties} of the said Earle of Falmouth and Mr. May appeares . . . the sume of m^cviiiij xii^{li} ij^s." If the surplus medals were made and not previously required they would, if delivered to May after the commencement of his itemised accounts, have been duly balanced by Treasury payments. But we must recall firstly: that Fitz-Harding only received the title of Falmouth in March, 1664-5, and that medals delivered to him in this name must have been intended for a healing at or before Easter which fell on March 26th. Secondly, be it said, that apparently no receptions were held later than Easter, 1665,¹ and the residue of the 2000 medals probably lasted, passing to Baptist May on Falmouth's death on June 3rd, until he obtained a further supply of 1500 by a fresh warrant on May 22, 1667, and that therefore only 2000 persons must have presented themselves for the King's touch between March, 1664-5, and May, 1667.

Before many months were passed, namely from the beginning of the year 1668, according to the new style of reckoning, we are on sure ground, for not only do Baptist May's itemised accounts² commence in February, 1667-8, but from January onwards the reduction of the Royal expenditure came under discussion, and we notice that the grant to the Privy Purse was reduced to £20,000 a year.³ The

¹ See p. 136.

² *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2795, Public Record Office. This account begins with the authorisation to the Commissioners of the Treasury to pay to May or his assigns by way of imprest under the Privy Seal of March 20, 1667-8, such sums of money as he should require "for the provision of angel gold or otherwise medalls for healing Peeeces of Crowne Gold."

³ *State Papers Domestic*, Carl II, vol. 233, No. 150. "Whereas we have found fitt in the present state of our affairs with the Advice of our Privy Councill to make some considerable Retrenchment of our expenses in all parts thereof and amongst others in that of our Privy Purse w^{ch} Wee have henceforth reduced to the yearly sume of Twenty Thousand pounds, and therefore Wee have thought fitt hereby to signify the same to you. To the end you may for the future governe yorselve accordingly

proportion reserved for healing money is not, unfortunately, stated in the letter directing this retrenchment. It was decided that the new rules should date from March 25, 1668. We find the first allusion to the healing question at a meeting of the Treasury Board under date Friday, January 17, 1667-8.¹ "Mr. Slingsby and Mr. Bridgeman² to be called in. He moves for the angell gold for healing, which spends about 6000^l per annum, whereas formerly it came but to 1200^l per annum." After this somewhat startling pronouncement the entry continues as follows: . . . "The healing gold was had out of the Mint. My Lords [of the Treasury] will settle a method for this bussiness; that an acct. may be made; whereas in the Privy Purse no acct. to be made."³

in the expenses of the office wh^{ch} Reduction Wee will that it begin to take place from Lady Day now to come" [This date is written over "from Christmas last past"], "and for soe doing this shall bee yo^r Warrant. Given att Our Court att Whitehall the [blank] day of January in the 19th year of our Reigne 1667-8. By his Mat^{ies} Comānd. to our Trusty and Well beloved Baptista May Esqre Keeper of our Privy Purse." Endorsed "20,000^l p. an. for ye P. Purse." This draft is unsigned, but we find "20,000^l for ye Privy Purse" set down in *Entry Book* 30, p. 47 *bis*, and similar documents follow concerning all the retrenchments signed by Arlington and dated March 16, 1667-8. See also MS. *State Papers Domestic*, vol. 236, No. 193, containing a list of the reduction at the Privy Council Meeting of March 18, 1667-8. "Privy Purse, That the Expenses of his Privy Purse be kept yearly wthin ye some of 20,000^l." This decision, but for this change in date, ratified the retrenchments suggested by the Lords Committee on the previous January 3, it being now, however, decreed that the reduced payment "do commence from the 25 day of this instant March 1668." Orders follow that Lord Arlington, principal Secretary of State, should prepare warrants of the King's signature.

¹ MS. *Treasury Minute Books*, T. 29, vol. ii, p. 22.

² Henry Slingsby was Master of the Mint. Mr. Bridgeman (or Bridgmen) is indexed in the Calendar of Treasury Papers of 1669-1670 as William with a note of interrogation and described as "of the Privy Purse Office." According to some entries in the *Secret Service of Charles II and James II*, running from 1679 to 1688, he dealt with Secret Service money for the latter king, see pp. 195, 210-11, in July and January, 1688 and 1689. Another Bridgman, James by name, attested some bills concerning work done in the Privy Chamber for Charles II between 1682 and Lady Day 1685, *Ibid.*, p. 132. Whether the "Mr. Bridgeman" of the above account be one or the other of these two, he appears often in the Treasury Minute Books as acting as deputy for Baptist May.

³ *Treasury Minute Books*, T. 29, vol. ii, p. 22.

This remark concerning the rendering of a healing account is significant and explains the fact that little information concerning the expenses of touching can be found during the administration of the office of Keeper of the Privy Purse by Baptist May's predecessor, or indeed by himself, in the first two years of his service.

On Monday, February 3, Sir Robert Long,¹ auditor of the Exchequer, was commanded to attend on the following Thursday "about settling a Way of accounting for the healing money and to be 12,000^l per annum for that use."² This suggested sum of £12,000 remains unexplained and does not agree with either previous or subsequent expenditure. Having carefully examined the original manuscript, I find the figures to be undoubtedly as calendared, but I should be inclined to suggest that either the initial one or final nought is a slip of the pen on the part of the seventeenth-century clerk.

I think we must either explain the intended allowance as £1200 annually in view of the January report, "formerly it came but to 1,200^l,"³ or else, because of the growing expenditure, as £2000.⁴ In favour of the latter assumption is the fact that we find about 3570 medals must have been required for healing between this February,

¹ Sir Robert Long was Secretary to Charles during his exile and after the Restoration was made Auditor of the Exchequer and a Privy Councillor. He was created a Baronet in 1662 and died unmarried in 1673. See Pepys's *Diary*, vol. ii, pp. 378-9.

² MS. *Treasury Minute Books*, T. 29, vol. ii, p. 48, calendared in *Treasury Books*, 1667-8, p. 246.

³ T. 29, vol. ii, p. 22. See our page 144.

⁴ There is evidence that some years later £2000 was the recognised allowance. Amongst the MS. papers in the collection of the Duke of Leeds is a Treasury Minute Book, which was quoted as vol. v in vol. iv of the *Calendar of Treasury Books* at the Record Office. From this MS., pp. 10 and 11, and *Calendar*, pp. 310-11, it appears that this question was again brought forward on June 14, 1676, "My Lord Treasurer to have an account of how the Healing Medalls are distributed and what rules are observed for Healing." On June 12, "The Lord Treasurer directs 500^l for healing medals and 2500^l per quarter for stables." Marginal note, "Done." See also Disposition Book, T. 61, vol. iii, p. 39, at the Public Record Office, where we find, in January, 1684-5, an order for a payment to the Privy Purse to "complete a quarter 2500^l, D^o for healing gold 500^l."

1667-8, and the same time in the ensuing year and by September, 1668, nearly £800 was already spent. On the 25th of this month a warrant was drawn directing that an annual sum of £3700 should be paid in quarterly instalments for the use of the Privy Purse. This charge for the quarter's payment of £925 was made on the 28th on the County Excise, and was immediately followed by another warrant for £3700 on the Post Office. Meanwhile an order for the whole amount was made payable to May, and on October 7, £925 was delivered to him.¹ It is, however, not apparent that this money was set apart for healing, and it probably merely formed a part of the authorised £20,000 for Privy Purse expenses. These payments were adjusted by Privy Seals, but the maximum allowed was not infrequently exceeded, and in June, 1668, May had received £22,500,² to which we must add the £3700 above mentioned. Nevertheless, in January, 1668-9, the further sum of £6000 was required.³ When in January, 1675-6, a second enquiry was held into the King's affairs, the expenses of the Privy Purse were set down at £36,000, but only £2000 appears⁴ under the head of healing money, and according to Browne's lists this should at that time have sufficed. In the five and a half years covered by Baptist May's⁵ first account, the sum

¹ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. ii, pp. 621, 622 and 623.

² *Ibid.*, p. 576.

³ MS. *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. ii, January 27, 1668-9.

⁴ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. v, p. 117.

⁵ *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2795, and Audit Office Bundle 2021, Roll 4. The payments made from the Exchequer to May were as follows :—

Easter Term, 1668, £500; Michaelmas Term, 1668-9, £200; Easter Term, 1669, £800; Michaelmas Term, 1669-70, £600; Easter Term, 1670, £1000; Michaelmas Term, 1670-71, £1000; Easter Term, 1671, £1600; Michaelmas Term, 1671-72, £1400; Michaelmas Term, 1672-73, £700; Easter Term, 1673, £140; Total, £7940.

The deficit of £138 5s. 11d. due to May was carried over to the next account and the total of £8078 5s. 6d. was spent in medals, with the exception of £83 12s. in legal expenses connected with clearing the account, such as charges for the Privy Seal and 10s. for the hire, on progress, of a house at Dartmouth. The medals supplied by the Mint were 17,351 at the price of £7906 8s. 7d. and the remaining 183 were purchased "upon extraordinary occasions" at sums varying from 9s. to 10s. and are massed with the 10s. house hire at £88 16s. 4d. Deducting, therefore, the 88 medals

expended by him for 17,534 medals, including outside purchases and some small legal charges, was £8078 5s. 6d. Of this total he had received £7940 and the sum of £138 5s. 11d. remained owing to him, but he had 88 medals still in hand. Strange to say, no payment is set down in the Easter Term of 1672,¹ but we have the Chapel Royal accounts covering this period, which prove that the healings were of the normal average, and we have also the evidence from the newspapers that the usual receptions were held and we must, therefore, assume that the large sum entered in the year 1671 had met the pre-Easter expenses and that, roughly speaking, the yearly outlay was at that time about £1600.

We can hardly believe that £12,000 was contemplated as a grant, although it is certain that £1200 would not have sufficed. But to return to the deliberations concerning healing in the Treasury Chamber in 1667-8.

At first we find the decision under the head "Healing money," February 6th, 1667-8. "A Privy Seal for it to be to the Warden of the Mint as formerly."² Until this period we have seen that the management of this affair had been privately managed by Slingsby.

On the 27th this order, however, is reconsidered and "the Privy Seal for the Healing gold is to be to the Keeper of the Privy Purse."³ To this fresh regulation we owe the *Declared Accounts* of Baptist May and his successor in office under James II, James Grahme. On

left on hand, the King must have given 17,446 healing-pieces between February 12, 1667-8, and March 25, 1673, at a cost of about £7950. The number of persons specified as touched in this period between February 1, 1667-8, and March 30, 1673, in the Chapel Royal lists is 18,431, but of these some were no doubt presented before the 12th of February, and after the 25th of March, the healings being set down month by month and not day by day as in the Washington MS.

¹ A similar hiatus is found, see note 2 on our p. 152 in May's second account. No payments are there entered for Easter term in either of Charles II's 29th or 32nd regnal years, although at these dates the number of persons touched was very large.

² MS. *Treasury Minute Books*, T. 29, vol. ii, p. 51. See also *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Rolls 2088-2091, when the matter was left in the hands of the Mint Master.

³ T. 29, vol. ii, p. 78. See also the *Accounts of Baptist May, Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Rolls 2795 and 2796, and of James Grahme, *Ibid.*, Roll 2797.

March 2, we read with regard to "Healing, the King's hand to be gott to that Privy Seal,"¹ whilst on the 11th the entry occurs: "Healing gold, The Pr. Seal signed."²

Further formalities must have intervened and it is possible that a momentary delay in drawing the warrants ensued, awaiting the meeting in Council, of March 18th, when the decision was made that all reductions in expenditure should date from the 25th instant.³ Be this as it may, the actual date of the Privy Seal is March 20, 1667-8, of which the original text may be seen at the Public Record Office⁴ amongst the royal warrants. I give the document in a note, that it may be observed that no sum is specified, but to the earlier of the two copies of the Privy Seal is appended a marginal note, in a hand with which the constant perusal of the Treasury Minute Books has made me familiar and which throws some light on the matter. These items are set down against the words:

¹ T. 29, vol. ii, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

³ See our p. 143, note 3, and MS. *State Papers Domestic*, Carl II, vol. 236, p. 193.

⁴ *Treasury Miscellaneous Warrants, Early*, vol. xv, p. 77, now catalogued T. 52, vol. i. "Charles R. Healing gold. Our will and pleasure is that you prepare a Bill to passe our Privy Seal to the Effect following. Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc. To the Com^{rs} of our Treas^{ry} now being & to the Treas^r and Under Treas^r and Com^{rs} of our Treas^{ry} now and for the time being greeting. Our Will and pleasure is and We do hereby authorize and require you out of our Treas^{ry} that now is or hereafter shalbe remayning in the Receipt of Our Excheq^r to pay or cause to be paid unto the Keeper of Our Privy Purse for the time being or his Assigns such Sum^m or Sum^{mes} of money as you shall thinke necessary, for provision of Angell Gold, or otherwise Meddalls for healing peeces of Crown Gold for Our use in healing. The same to be received by the L^d Keeper of our Privy Purse for the time being by way of Imprest and upon Accompt for the Service afore^{sd}, and these Our Letters etc., given etc. dated the 20th day of March in the 20th yeare of his Ma^{ties} Reigne [signed by J. Mathew]. To the Clerke of our Signett now attending." For what reason it is difficult to say, but another copy of the above, varying slightly in spelling and certified as "a true Coppy," was entered again in the Treasury Warrants on May 16th, 1680, and runs to greater length, but in neither Document is any limit set to the amount of money which might be drawn. The second copy is dated "from our Pallace at Westminster the Twentyeth day of March in the Twentyeth yeare of our Reigne." See *King's Warrants*, T. 52, vol. vii, p. 301.

“ Healing gold : 500^l on ye Exchq^r.
 800^l ” ”
 200^l on 11 mo. Tax
 800^l on tenths.”

As these payments in the Exchequer Office are usually charged on the Customs, the eleven months' tax or “ the tenths,” it seems that the calculation was probably a forecast of the likely expenditure in the first year. But a truce to conjecture. From this time forth Baptist May obtained, “ by way of imprest,” such sums as he required, although, as it appears, not always so soon as he demanded them, and all warrants were drawn “ by virtue of his Ma^{ties} L^{tes} under his Privy Seal, given at Westminster the XXth of March in the XXth year of our Raigne,” and are so cited in the declared accounts of the Keeper of the Privy Purse.¹

The first payment which I find mentioned in the Treasury Minutes as a result of this arrangement is under date May 7, 1668. “ A Warrant for 500^l to the Privy Purse for healing gold and to call in the Lord's former letter about it.”²

But we have not yet done with the regulations laid down on March 2, 1667-8, at that important meeting of the Treasury Board, for it was then decided that “ the Clerk of the Closet and the Chirurg^{on}”

¹ Baptist May's *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Rolls 2795 and 2793. Duplicates of these accounts are in the Public Record Office, *Declared Accounts, Audit Office, Privy Purse*, Bundle 2021, Rolls 4 and 5, but these latter, being on paper, are so fragile that I have thought better to give reference to the “ Pipe Office ” parchments throughout. Mr. R. W. Cochran Patrick, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. vii, p. 123, attracts attention to the earlier of the two Pipe Office Rolls, but the account running from 1673 to 1684-5 appears to have escaped his notice. Both rolls rehearse the powers given to Baptist May to draw the money “ for the Provision of Angell gold or otherwise meddalls for healing Peeeces of Crowne Gold.” Approximately the same words may be seen in the warrants in Surgeon-General's Library at Washington, published by Dr. Garrison in his *Relic of the King's Evil* and in various documents, amongst the Treasury Papers at the Public Record Office. See our page 151, notes 1, 2, 3 and 4.

² T. 29, vol. ii, p. 161.

were "to certify every healing Day into Sir Robt. Long's office.¹ How many healed."²

Herein we see the origin of the "Chirurgeon's register," one of the loose sheets whereof I was permitted to reproduce opposite our page 130 from the collection of manuscripts in the Surgeon-General's Library at Washington.

On July 1st, 1668, the Privy Purse account is referred to Auditor Beale.³ On September 1st, we meet Mr. Bridgeman again in the Treasury Chamber. He "moves about the business of ye healing money, that he may have money for yt use, the King being now about to goe a progress."⁴ "Avd^r Beale⁵ alsoe called in about it, whoe saith there is about 600^{li} due to Mr. Slingsby for what hee hath already furnisht for healing." It was perhaps on account of this urgency that on the next day £800 was apportioned to Bridgeman for medals,⁶ for it transpired that Beale had under-estimated the debt. On the 8th Slingsby is told to attend about the matter⁷ again on the morrow, and on the 10th the warrant is made out to May for £800, and "the Warrant for ye summe on the Exchequer to be vacated."⁸ On September 23rd Alderman Backwell advances "£200 for the Angel gold Warrant for Mr. May."⁹

But I must not weary my readers with any more detail from the Treasury accounts. Suffice it to say that we frequently find

¹ Sir Robert Long was Secretary to Charles during his exile and was subsequently made auditor of the Exchequer and Privy Councillor and created a Baronet in 1662. See Pepys' *Diary*, ed. 1828, vol. ii, p. 378, note *.

² T. 29, vol. ii, p. 81.

³ *Treasury Minute Books*, T. 29, vol. ii, p. 235.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁵ Bartholomew Beale was Auditor of Imprests.

⁶ T. 29, vol. ii, p. 316, September 3, 1668. "The Mint is hard at work in making still; also he [Slingsby] moves for payment of about 700^{li} worth of medalls and near 100^l more hee hath furnisht them for medlls. A warrant for Mr. Bridgeman of 800^{li} for healing Gould on the Exchequer."

⁷ T. 29, vol. ii, p. 321.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁹ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. ii, p. 620, September 23, 1668, "On the credit of the Eleven Months tax."

Sp

The Lords Com: of his Ma^{ty} Treas^{ry} desire y^e out of
such Customs money as is directed to be this week
paid into y^e Excheq^r be paid to y^e Treas^{ry} of his Ma^{ty}
— Many one week money wherof for } 2500. 0. 0
The old Exchequer 1000 — — — }
430. 0. 6 Do for Bills of Exchange for M^r Moeigh - 430. 0. 6
— To the Excheq^r of the Privy Purse - 200. 0. 0
— Do for the gen. service thereof - 1500. 0. 0
— Do for healing gold - - - 500. 0. 0
— M^r Griffith for the Stables - - 1000. 0. 0
— To the Privy Purse for M^r Tolyard - 200. 0. 0
— Treas^{ry} of Ordnance and warlike m^o - 500. 0. 0
— Do - - - - 3000. 0. 0
— Jam
Treasury Chamberlⁿ
22. Decem. 07

Sp

Sp
most humble serv^t.
Hen^{ry} Guy.

St Robt Howard

TREASURY WARRANT FOR £500 FOR THE HEALING GOLD.

that the letters under the Privy Seal enabled May to draw upon imprest large sums of money, £3000,¹ £3250,² even £4000,³ were thus "imprest" in various years, but it is not always possible to trace the exact payment, and it is more usual to find the money noted in the Exchequer accounts as being charged on this or that fund, usually on the Customs, on certain taxes or on some loan, at about £500 at a time at intervals of some few months.⁴ Payments were obviously made as convenient and transferred to the Mint, by May, at the Easter and Michaelmas Terms, and he in the later years of the reign seldom spent less than £2000 or more than £4000 in the healing medals in one year. It would be idle to balance the various items in the Exchequer books against the massed figures of the Keeper of the Privy Purse. As time went on the expenses swelled from the modest £1500 or £1600 a year to about £2500 or more, and between March 25, 1673, and the time of the king's death on February 6, 1684-5, £27,382 18s. were expended inclusive of £100 10s. 2d. for legal expenses connected with the Privy Seal, etc.

¹ *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. vi, No. 528, Warrant under date May 11th, 1680, "money order, dated May 16, thereon," and there is a record of the receipts of this order under date May 22nd "for provideing Crowne gold for healeing Medalls" in the Washington MSS.

² *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. iii, p. 187. "Treasury orders registered on the Tenth, for 3250^l to Baptist May for the Privy Purse for Healing medals."

³ Again we read in the *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. vii, p. 642, "November 27, 1682, Baptist May 4,000^l as imprest for the provision of gold for his Majesties use in Healing Money. Order dated November 28 hereon." Money Book iv, p. 97. We notice £4000 once more in November, 1683, in much the same words: *Calendar*, vol. vii, p. 950, and Order dated November 12 in the Order Book xxxix, p. 110.

⁴ That the money was paid as convenient to the Exchequer is clear; take, for instance, the accounts for the year 1678-9. "May 30th, 1678, Letter of direction in 195^l 16^s 3^d in part of an order, in March last for 2000^l to Baptist May for Crown Gold for Healing Medals as by a privy seal of 1667-8, March 20th," *Calendar*, vol. vi, p. 72. This is followed on Nov. 11 by £500 "in further part of the Order of March 10 last for 2000^l," etc., etc., "of which only 195^l 16^s 3^d has been paid." *Ibid.*, p. 259. Again on March 2 £600 still on the sum £2000 "of which only 695^l 6^s 3^d has been paid." *Ibid.*, p. 452. On April 6, 1680, yet another £600 on the 2000^l order. "on which order only 1295^l 16^s 3^d has been paid." *Ibid.*, p. 493. I need not multiply illustrations any further.

£23,222 6s. 3d.¹ was paid by the Treasury and the further sum of £4140 11s. 6½d. was noted as owing.² The number of healing-pieces supplied by the Mint in this period was 61,383, besides 199 which had been procured at the price of £102 6s. 4d., being brought from goldsmiths as before on "extraordinary occasions." The total of £27,382 18s. must of course be debited with the 1905 medals remaining on hand to which I have already referred. For this increase in the expenditure I was not unprepared, for the register published by Browne had led me to realise that towards the end of the reign larger grants would be required. According to the Chapel Royal lists by the year 1673 the numbers resorting to the king had reached 4520, and in 1674, 5079; in 1681, 5907; and in 1682, 8579. The Treasury payments in 1683 amounted to £3940, but even so did

¹ The Abstract of May's Account gives the total paid by the Treasury as £23,222 6s. 3d., but we must remember that against the £138 5s. 11d. carried from his last account he had 88 medals in hand and there is also a note of the sum of £11 18s. 3d. paid short in one instance.

² The account stood as follows:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---------|----|----|
| Arrears from the former account | 138 | 5 | 11 |
| Medals supplied at the Mint | 27,041 | 15 | 7½ |
| Extra pieces bought of goldsmith | 102 | 6 | 4 |
| Legal expenses, auditing, &c. | 100 | 10 | 2 |
| Total | £27,382 | 18 | 0 |

Payments made by the Treasurer, under Treasurer & Tellers of the Exchequer to Baptist May: Michaelmas Term, 1673-74, £800; Easter Term, 1674, £600; Michaelmas Term, 1674-75, £1260; Easter Term, 1675, £800; Michaelmas Term, 1675-76, £1082 5s. 3d.; Easter Term, 1676, £1200; Michaelmas Term, 1676-77, £1217 14s. 8½d.; Michaelmas Term, 1677-78, £1000; Easter Term, 1678, £500; Michaelmas Term, 1678-79, £500; Easter Term, 1679, £195 16s. 3d.; Michaelmas Term, 1679-80, £1700; Michaelmas Term, 1680-81, £1000; Easter Term, 1681, £500; Michaelmas Term, 1681-82, £2700; Easter Term, 1682, £1500; Michaelmas Term, 1682-83, £1500; Easter Term, 1683, £1650; Michaelmas Term, 1683-84, £2340; Easter Term, 1684, £176 10s.; Michaelmas Term, 1684-85, £1000; Total £23,222 6s. 3½d., plus money owing, carried from last account, £138 5s. 11d.

not apparently cover the expenses.¹ In August, 1684, the expenditure had dropped by reason of the reduction in price of the medal, so that £1176 10s. paid during the Easter and Michaelmas Terms was called upon to do duty for some 4700 healing-pieces.

When Charles II died, we learn from May's two accounts that although £31,162 6s. 4d. had been paid into the Mint between February, 1667-8, and the same month in 1684-5, the deficit of £4146 11s. 11½d. remained owing, making a total of upwards of £35,000 spent in healing-pieces in seventeen years.

May's accounts are not only interesting from the light they cast upon healing, but also from the information imparted as to the varying price of gold, the number of medals supplied by the Mint at so much per ounce, the amount paid, the weight and value being all set down, although, unfortunately, not with corresponding dates, and we are left in doubt when each change occurred. Thus we have "M.V. ⁱiiiij ^cviiij medals," weighing, "clxxix^{oz.} viij^{dwt.} xvj^{grs.} at lxxix^s p. oz.,"² at a cost of "vii ^cviiij^{li} xv^s ij^d" and so on, giving us the information that when these 1588 medals were struck at the weight of 179 oz. 8 dwt. 16 grs. and at the cost of £708 15s. 2d. gold stood at 79s. per ounce, and we may look down the list, and find 1688 medals at 79s. 6d. per oz., 600 at 80s. 6d., 300 at 80s. 9d., 2507 at 80s., 3926 at 81s., 1421 at 81s. 6d., 5316 at 82s., but this does not prove that gold rose steadily in value, for in the second account, beginning in 1673,³ the first item of 400 medals stands at £4 4s. per ounce, and each delivery is lower instead of higher than the last,

¹ The payments made in the years 1683 and 1684 were as follows: May acknowledged the receipt from the Exchequer of £5116 5s. in two years, viz.: Easter Term, 1683, £1600; Michaelmas Term, 1683-84, £2340; Easter Term, 1684, £176 5s.; Michaelmas Term, 1684, £1000. The Treasury orders for payments for Medals consist in: January 15, 1682-83, £500; April 7, 1683, £500; May 26, 1683, £50; June 13, 1683, £100; October 6, 1683, £500; November 17, 1683, £500; December 22, 1683, £500; February 27, 1683-84, £500; March 24, 1683-84, £340; August 13, 1684, £176 10s.; October 16, 1684, £500; January 9, 1684-85, £500. The total here reached is ~~£5776~~ ^{£5776} in excess of that acknowledged by May as above.

² *Declared Accounts*, Pipe Office, No. 2795.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 2796.

the price dropping from the above sum to 678 medals at £4 3s. 6d. per ounce, 1574 at £4 3s. ; 6154 at £4 2s. 6d. ; 4140 at £4 2s. ; 1170 at £4 1s. 9d. ; 3679 at £4 1s. 8d., and finally to 43,589 at £4 1s. 6d.¹ This arrangement suggests that the Mint Master set out his accounts by value rather than by sequence of dates. The amounts of medals supplied do not absolutely correspond to the separate payments which were apparently made only at the end of each term and figure as "Easter Terme" and "Michas Terme" in such and such year of the king's reign, and are almost always, as we have seen, in large round sums. But there is one very small payment, that made at Easter Term in Charles II's 36th year, that is to say in 1684, and one entry of a startlingly large number of medals at £4 1s. 6d. per ounce, and these do not agree in amount with the calculation that about 106 medals go to the pound weight, or roughly speaking 9 to an ounce,² at the cost of about 9s. each. We find too many medals by quite 2000 for the weight of metal, and also notice that the price is too low for the number of 43,589. These two circumstances must, I think, synchronize, for in the August of 1684 a lighter medal was ordered of which 16 went to the ounce.

That such change was made in the size of the touchpiece in the reign of Charles is a fact which has usually passed unnoticed. There is, however, a specimen weighing only 29 grains in the Mint Museum, and Mr. Hocking, in his catalogue, has drawn attention to the fact that it agrees in size with those later made for James II,³ but kindly informs me that the Royal Mint possesses no documentary evidence concerning their issue.

¹ It is clear from the charge for the medals supplied to Falmouth in 1664-5 that gold then stood at 81s. 3½d. per ounce, whilst those handed to May in 1667 were charged for at 81s. 2½d. See our pp. 142-3.

² See our p. 135 and Mint Catalogue, vol. i, p. 126 ; see also our p. 157, showing that the medal ordered in 1664-5 was "at about 8s 4d in proportion to the guinnies at 20s," but the weight of the guinea was in 1670 reduced from 131½ grains to 129½ grains ; but I have found no evidence that the weight of 54·3 grains for the touchpiece was then changed ; on the contrary we have proof that the medal rose in value to 9s. 6d.

³ *Royal Mint Museum Catalogue*, vol. i, p. 126, No. 1376.

After a search of some years' standing I succeeded in finding two other examples: the one now in my own collection turns the scale at 29.8 grs., the other, which I presented to the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, is somewhat worn, and weighs 25 grains only.



SMALL TOUCHPIECES OF CHARLES II.

Browne, in his *Charisma*, written at the end of 1683, makes no reference to any reduction in the value of the king's gift. Moreover, the extreme rarity of this touchpiece at once suggested to me that it was made late in the reign of Charles, and a letter addressed by Henry Guy, the Secretary of the Treasury, to the Mint Commissioners under date August 7, 1684, enquiring the price of the touchpiece—an unnecessary question if no change had been made—practically informs us of the time when the small medals first appeared. "The Lords Com^{rs} of his Ma^{ty} Treãry having been informed that 700 healing Meddals wilbe wanting Command and desire you to send their Ld^{ps} an acct. how much that number will come to. I am etc. Servt. Hen. Guy."¹ The answer is not directly reported, but the unusually low charge in the *Dispositions Book*:² "Keep. of the Privy Purse for Heal. Medalls £176 10s. paid on the 12th August," is an all sufficient reply and from this time forward the expenditure is small.

The gold stood, as we have reason to believe, at this time at £4 1s. 6d. an ounce, and taking the medal at 30 grains, or 16 pieces to the ounce, this would represent 5s. 1d. as the price of each, or £177 18s. 4d. for 700. Allowing, however, for the hole, it seems probable that few specimens would be likely to exceed 29½ grains,

¹ *Out-letters Generals*, Public Record Office, T. 27, vol. vii, p. 406.

² *Dispositions Book*, vol. ii, T. 61, pp. 392 and 393.

and indeed the three examples known to us vary much in weight, the heaviest being 29·8 grains. At 5s. each the sum works out at £175, and £176 10s. would pay for 700 healing-pieces at about 5s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each, so that £176 10s. being stated in May's *Audited Accounts* and in the *Dispositions Books*, it is obvious that the sudden drop in the expenses and the appearance of the small touchpiece coincide in point of time.

I think it is almost safe to assume that from first to last about 4700 of these little pieces were coined, for after this August payment, two others were made by the Treasury for medals, the one of £500 on October 16, 1684, and the other of £500 on January 9, 1684-85, and May states that he received from the Treasury £1000 in the Michaelmas Term 1684-5.¹ But it appears that on the death of Charles, 1905 medals remained in hand, and it is possible that these would be melted and recoinced for James.²

The very large number of 43,589 medals at 4603 oz. 8 grs. valued at £4 1s. 6d. per ounce resulting in an expenditure of £18,745 7s. 6d., would not work out correctly if some of the touchpieces had not been at 30 grains instead of 54·3 grains, whereas an allowance of about 4700 of the smaller size as against some 38,889 or so of the larger, produces the requisite figures. At some period in the reign of Charles subsequent to the year 1675, and probably about three or four years later, a similar reform had been suggested and rejected. By the kind permission of Sir Richard Graham of Netherby and of

¹ *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, No. 2796.

² It is within the range of possibility that a certain unstated number of medals included in the account were not delivered until after the death of Charles, and may therefore have been altered and struck in James II's name. The account is endorsed Mem^d that "Altho' this Acc^t determines the 6th Feb^y 1684 there is allowance made for Medalls delivered the 11th April 1685, w^{ch} are not to be allowed in any succeeding Acc^t." James "healed" for the first time on March 4th and must either have used his brother's medals or had them recoinced. The design remains the same, but for the alteration of the name, and the same puncheons would have served, and I would suggest that the medals left over by Charles were possibly recoinced and delivered again for the use of James in April for the Easter healing, April 19.

the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office, I am permitted to transcribe a paper dealing with this subject which was printed from the Graham muniments by the Royal Commission on Historical manuscripts.¹ The collection at Netherby contains much correspondence pertaining to Henry Slingsby, Master of the Mint under Charles II, and this is one of the series. "The former gold made for healing was a 10^s piece of current money made of fine gold, which after his Majesty's raising the value of the gold coins became worth 11^s 6^d.² In the year 1664, H.M. was pleased, by reason of the difficulty and charges in the providing of such fine gold, to appoint certain medals to be made for that use of Crown gold, being of the same standard in fineness with his Majesty's coins, and in value about 8^s 4^d in proportion to the guinnies at 20^s. But the market having since raised the value of the guinnie to 21^s 6^d the said medals are likewise raised to about 9^s, which is yet 2^s 6^d less than the former pieces; and should 4^s more be taken out of the weight of the present healing medals, they would not be above 28 or 29 grains in weight, little bigger than the 2^d piece of H.M. new silver money and too thin to receive any impression. Besides the number of them spent one year with another being about 5600, which amounts to but 2500^l; there would not be saved by such alteration more than about 1000^l yearly." The allusion in this manuscript to "the 2^d piece of H.M. new silver money" might suggest that this paper was written in about the year 1668, for it was then that this coin first appeared, and it was followed in 1670 by the groat and threepence, the latter coin agreeing more nearly with the size of the touchpiece on its later appearance than does the half groat. But papers annexed to the report show the expenditure on healing on certain days in 1675 and the calendarer mentions

¹ Appendix to *Sixth Report*, vol. i, p. 333. *The Manuscripts of Sir Reginald Graham, Bart., Mint Papers*.

² This probably refers to the proclamation of August 26, 1661, although the rise in value is there specified at 11s. 8d. for the 11s. angel and at 10s. 8d. for the 10s. angel, struck prior to and after 1619 respectively. See *ante*, p. 121.

the existence of others bearing date 1677 and 1688.¹ The last of these figures struck me as almost impossible, seeing that 1688 does not fall within the reign when the reduction of weight was effected, namely that of Charles II, and I think it is probably a misprint for 1678 or 1680. Unfortunately, as Sir Richard Graham kindly informed me, owing to the war he was unable at the moment to verify this point, but it is highly improbable that one of Slingsby's Mint Papers should bear date 1688, seeing that he was suspended from his office as Master in June, 1680.² Moreover, as we have seen, the change in size was successfully carried out in 1684. The rise in the price of the guinea should suggest a date, but it is not easy to bring it to book. The reduction in 1670 of this coin to $129\frac{3}{8}$ grains had of course affected the proportional value of the healing-piece, the weight whereof had been fixed in 1664-5 at 54.3 and the value at 8s. 4d.,³ whilst the number of medals issued to the pound Troy being some 106⁴ presented a large economy in comparison to the old angel weighing $64\frac{5}{8}$ grains. The indenture of James II in 1685 followed the lines laid down by his late brother, and ordered the guinea to be issued at 20s. It has accordingly been very generally

¹ The samples of Accounts printed by the Royal Historical Commission in this connection are as follows:—

"1675 March 20, 92¹ 4^s 8^d for 200 Healing pieces weighing 22 oz 11 dwt 18 gr etc. etc.

"1675 March 22, 92¹ 11^s 6^d for 22 oz. 13 dwt. 10 gr.

"1675 March 23. For healing pieces weighing 22 oz. 13 dwt. at 4¹ 1^s 8^d per oz. 92¹ 9^s 10^d.

"1677 and 1688, a page of accounts of the numbers of pieces, weight of gold and value in money. Two other papers."

These extracts are of value as showing that in 1675 gold stood at 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* per oz.

² An enquiry was instituted into the affairs of the Mint on June 9, 1680, and from this time his duties were executed by commission. Matters dragged on until after the accession of James, when his indentures were cancelled. He died in or before August, 1690, at which date his widow proved his accounts.

³ In the itemised accounts we never find the medals costing so little as the specified 8s. 4*d.*, not even those paid to Lord Falmouth in 1664-5, which come out at about 9s. $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* each, but at one moment, date unspecified, when gold stood at 79s. per ounce, an issue of some 1588 works out at about 8s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* each.

⁴ See our p. 135.

assumed that it had remained current more or less at this rate throughout the reign of Charles II, although made the subject of much legislation under William III, having reached the price of 30s. at the time of Mary II's death. But judging from some of the *Declared Accounts*,¹ the guinea was reckoned at 21s. 6d. in the last few years of Charles II's life. Under dates 1681, 1682 to '84 and 1684 to '86 we find "Guineys and Pieces of gold money placed in the Pyx" charged in the Mint expenses "at ye rate of xxj^s vj^d a piece," and at some undated period in Charles II's reign gold stood at £4 4s. per ounce.

Observation of May's *Declared Accounts* proves that according to the rise and fall in the price of gold the medals stood after 1667 at varying sums, one small consignment costing even so much as 9s. 6d. when gold stood at £4 4s. the ounce and 9s. 5½d. at £4 3s. 6d., while the usual deliveries came out at 8s. 11d., 9s., 9s. 1d., 9s. 2d., 9s. 3d. or perhaps 9s. 4d., the most common sums being 9s. or 9s. 2d.

Let us turn to the touchpiece itself, which has given rise to so long an array of figures. There is no great likelihood that until the reform of August, 1684, any deliberate reduction was intended of the amount of gold employed on each medal, but there is some discrepancy in size and also in weight in the larger specimens. I have found pieces (see illustration on page 135) which turn the scale at 55½ grains, but the majority waver between 53 and 55, the proper weight being, as we have seen, 54.3. This slight variation in size in the medal valued at about 9s. is probably the accident of new dies, for the smaller are the thicker. The difference of nearly 2 dwts. in about 22½ ounces may be noticed on almost successive days, in calculations respecting two hundred pieces in the Graham papers, resulting in an extra charge of 5s. in £92. There is, therefore, no

¹ *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Rolls 2092, 2093 and 2094. "ccclxi peeces and a halfe of gold put into the said Pyx between Vth Aug. 1681 and xvij of Nov. 1682 at the rate of xxj^s vj^d the peece, amount. to ccclij viij^{xx} xij^{iiij}." This appears in Roll 2092, but the two following rolls contain similar entries for various sums in the years between 1682 and 1684-5.

need to excite ourselves over infinitesimal variations. Until the five-shilling touchpiece took the place of that valued at nine shillings, the same puncheons, I think, continued in use. There seems little doubt that the Roettiers brothers were responsible for the healing piece, and this is rendered the more certain by some records now in the Royal Mint, where there exists a book containing a list of "Good Dies of severall sorts for the coyning of gold and silver, taken on the 4th day of October 1677 in the custody of the gravers."¹ Amongst the stock mentioned in this document the late Sir Charles Freemantle noticed in particular "Dies for the healing piece with the Angell" and "Dies for the healing piece with the Shipp." Now the "gravers" in whose "custody" these dies were left must have been one or other of the Roettiers, whose names figure in all Mint *Declared Accounts* of this period, as "the iij Roetiers Chiefe Graver's" whose pay is set down at £325 per annum.² After the departure of Joseph for France in 1672 or '73 the payment was continued to John and Philip, but as we see no change in the workmanship throughout, and Philip³ also had left England before he could have had time to engrave the healing-piece of James II, which exactly resembled its immediate predecessor, I think we may place the touchpieces to John Roettiers's account, and it is more suggestive of his technique than of his brother's. Although clearly made in the Mint, as we have seen in the extracts I have given from the *Declared Accounts*, either Pipe or Audit Office, that the healing-pieces until the time of James II were not mentioned in the Warden's or Master's general Accounts, but were specially provided by the Mint Master and separately audited. Of the developments under James, I will write in our next volume.

¹ *Annual Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint*, 1674, p. 13, by the Honble. Sir Charles Freemantle, K.C.B.

² *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2089, from 1666 to 1670. In Roll 2092 1676-77, this payment is entered to "John and Phillip Roetteers the Chiefe Gravers," whilst in Roll 2096, 1687-88, the salary is continued to John alone.

³ Philip only left England for France in or about February, 1684-5, and it was therefore possible that he might have made the last touchpiece of Charles II.

Did we not know from the documents I have quoted concerning the order of February, 1664-5, that the medal was a new departure in type, we might readily assume that the healing-piece illustrated below, the largest I have seen, belonged to the hammered series. It decidedly presents such an appearance, but long before 1664-5 the mill had superseded the hammer. The last document in which I have found a charge for the "better sizing of the Hamm'd money at 1^d a L wt." bears date 1662-3 to 1666, and refers, I think, to the silver only.¹ The piece more probably slipped its collar, for we have seen that the order demanded the use of "ye Mill and Presse according to ye Medall specified." Experts, nevertheless, have regarded this large touchpiece, which is of correct weight, as made by the



HEALING-PIECE MENTIONED ABOVE.

hammer, and as it might possibly be an experiment struck in early days I have thought it worth illustrating.² Study of the large number of healing-pieces belonging to the late Dr. Sisley enabled

¹ *Declared Accounts, Audit Office*, Bundle 1601, Roll 55, January 1, 1662-3, to December 20, 1666. "To the Moñeys for the better sizing of the Hamer^d money at 1^d a L wt. xxxj^{li} 6^s 1^d." This shows that after January, 1661-2, the amount of 7513 pounds weight was coined by hammer. In later accounts the charge of the extra penny for correct sizing was still made, but the word hammered is omitted and the "silver moneys" were specified as made by "Mille and Presse." See *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Roll 2094.

² I bought this specimen from the well-known collection of Dr. Richard Sisley, which contained the two small touchpieces to which I have referred. By the kindness of our member Mr. S. M. Spink I had the opportunity of carefully studying this collection of 35 pieces, 10 of which were of the time of Charles II. I have seen, in Mr. Spink's cabinet, another rough specimen, similar to that illustrated above, but weighing not quite 50 grains. Some years ago Mr. Webster gave me a note of yet another piece of the same character, and this again was of a different weight, but heavier instead of lighter, turning the scale at 55½ grains.

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me to judge of rarity, and I found that seven out of eight medals were of the exact type of the piece which I illustrated on our p. 135 and averaged 53 to 54 grains in weight. The eighth is of the slightly smaller and thicker order to which I have already referred, and which is always distinguished, so far as I have observed, by having a dot after Gloria, as illustrated below, but there is no change of puncheon, merely a new die. The little medal of the lighter weight has been shown on our p. 155.



VARIETY OF HEALING-PIECE OF CHARLES II.

Considering the obverse of a medal as the side bearing the king's name, we must attract attention to the fact that the ship which had formed the reverse decoration of the old angel coin and of Simon's pattern piece assumes the prominent place on the obverse under Charles II, whilst the figure of St. Michael on the reverse is surrounded by the legend SOLI DEO GLORIA.

There has been one slight misconception to which I must refer before closing this section of my paper.

By an unfortunate printer's error in the first edition of *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, Vol. I, p. 477, No. 86, it was there stated that a silver example of Charles II's touchpiece existed at Munich. Unable in wartime to ask particulars concerning this supposed rarity, I applied to Mr. H. A. Grueber, who with his usual kindness referred to Sir A. W. Franks' original notes taken when compiling this very valuable book, and only regrets that the error was not discovered in time to prevent its repetition in the second edition in describing it as No. 16 or Plate XLV. Sir Edgar Sheppard, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, in his *Memorials of St. James's Palace*,¹ quotes a newspaper paragraph from the *Kentish Inde-*

¹ *Memorials of St. James's Palace*, vol. i, p. 205.

pendent, under date September 5, 1857, wherein it was stated that an old woman, then resident in the parish of Wye, possessed a silver touchpiece, which had been given to her great-grandmother by Charles II. One cannot help wondering whether we have here another printer's error, and the medal described as bearing the figure of an angel was really of gold. Again, we might suggest that for Charles II we should read either James II or Charles III. A very slight imperfection in the touchpiece might easily result in the latter misreading, especially if the narrator was not aware that Prince Charles Edward presented silver healing medals bearing the title, CAR: III. I can only say that with the exception of the uniface trial piece figured on our p. 97, I have found no trace of a silver touchpiece under Charles II. We have, therefore, to chronicle besides Simon's pattern angel, shown on our p. 97 and the slipped coin or possibly early hammered pattern, two small variations in size, although not in weight, and the little five-shilling touchpiece of 1684, only five varieties to supply the demand of some 105,000 or more persons touched during a reign of less than 25 years. Allowing, further, for the fact that of these 105,000, nearly 23,000 received angels and not touchpieces, and about 2700 had the small medals, we are yet amazed to see that the dies used for quite 80,000 pieces present little change, and it is possible that the necessary substitution of fresh puncheons was one of the factors in making the new and smaller design.

I hope in our next volume to follow the fortunes of the little medal of which, as we have seen, 1905 remained on hand at the death of Charles II.



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MASONIC TOKENS.

MASONIC TOKENS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

IN the last decade of the eighteenth century small change became very scarce, and the country was flooded with innumerable tradesmen's tokens, mostly of the halfpenny size, of which large numbers were struck at Messrs. Boulton and Watts' Soho Works at Birmingham. These halfpenny tokens were made use of to commemorate the political feelings of some of the issuers, such as the acquittal of Horne Tooke, November 24th, 1794, and T. Hardy in the same year; others represented politicians such as Pitt, or heroes such as Nelson. A series was issued of churches in London and another of Birmingham buildings; in fact, these tokens were a series of local medals. In these circumstances it would be surprising if Freemasonry had escaped being commemorated. An opportunity occurred on November 24th, 1790, when H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was elected Grand Master. Though this event happened in 1790, the tokens do not appear to have been issued till 1794; and others are dated 1795 and 1796.

Issues of 1794, all halfpennies:—

I.—Obverse: The Free Masons' arms, supporters and crest, no inner circle; legend, commencing at the left: PRINCE OF WALES ELECTED G.M. × 24 NOV. 1790. The bodies of the supporters are ribbed (Pl. No. 1). Atkins, *Tokens of the Eighteenth Century*, Middlesex, No. 261; Pye (Pl. XI, 4). There is a variety on which the supporters are not ribbed, and there is a comma after Nov. Atkins, 264. (Pl. No. 2.)

Reverse: Within a triangle a cupid, or, as it has been suggested, the genius of Masonry, seated on a cloud, the right arm raised with the forefinger pointing upward, and the left resting on a plumb rule; on the ground a maul and trowel. In the apex of the triangle is an eye, with rays proceeding from it and extending to the cupid's arms; below the

eye is the letter G ; in the right-hand corner are the square and compasses and in the left a book ; outside the triangle : WISDOM STRENGTH & BEAUTY. No inner circle. Legend, commencing on the left : SIT LVX ET LUX FUT. Atkins, *Tokens of the Eighteenth Century*, Middlesex, No. 26. There are two other varieties, differing only as to the composition and length of the rays, and as to punctuation. Atkins, 262, 263. (Pl. Nos. 3 and 4.)

Edge : There is a great variety of inscriptions on the edge. Atkins gives the following, which chiefly refer to by whom or where payable :—

1. Plain, not in collar. Atkins, 264*h*.
2. HALFPENNY PAYABLE AT THE BLACK HORSE TOWER HILL • x • Atkins, 261, 262, 264.
3. HALFPENNY PAYABLE AT DUBLIN CORK OR DERRY. Atkins, 264*d*.
4. MASONIC HALF PENNY TOKEN MDCCXCIV. Atkins, 262*d*.
5. " " " " x • x Atkins, 263, 264*b*. x •
6. MASONIC TOKEN I SKETCHLEY FECIT 1794 • + • + • + • Atkins, 261*a*, 262*a*, 264*a*.
7. MASONIC TOKEN BROTHER SKETCHLEY BIRMINGHAM FACIT. Atkins, 263*a*.
8. MASONIC TOKEN J. SKETCHLEY R.A. & P.G.S. BIRMINGHAM FECIT. * Atkins, 264*c*.
9. PAYABLE IN LANCASTER LONDON OR BRISTOL. Atkins, 261*b*, 262*b*, 264*e*
10. PAYABLE AT LONDON • + • + • + • + . Atkins, 261*c*, 262*c*.
11. PAYABLE AT LONDON OR DUBLIN. Atkins, 261*d*.
12. PAYABLE AT RICHARD LONG'S LIBRARY • • • Atkins 264*f*.
13. PAYABLE AT W. PARKERS OLD BIRMINGHAM WAREHOUSE. Atkins, 264*g*.

From edges 6, 7 and 8 it can be gathered that these tokens were issued at Birmingham by J. Sketchley, who was an auctioneer, printer and publisher in that city. No. 8 gives his Masonic career, as it states that he had taken the Royal Arch degree and had served the office of Grand Steward. The obverse of this token is found muled with other obverses, with all of which it forms the reverse.

II.—Full-faced bust of the Prince of Wales to right; no inner circle; legend, commencing on the left: GEORGE PRINCE OF WALES HALF PENNY. (Pl. No. 5.)

Edges: (1) PAYABLE IN LANCASTER LONDON OR BRISTOL. Atkins, not local, 157. (2) PAYABLE AT LONDON OR DUBLIN x • x • Atkins, 157*a*.

III.—Profile bust of the Prince of Wales to right; no inner circle; legend, commencing on the left: GEORGE PRINCE OF WALES. (Pl. No. 6.)

Edge: PAYABLE IN LANCASTER LONDON OR BRISTOL. Atkins, 159; Pye, VIII, 2.

IV.—The arms of the Prince of Wales, with his motto below; no inner circle; legend, commencing on the left: LONDON AND MIDDLESEX. HALF PENNY. (Pl. No. 7.)

Edge: PAYABLE IN LANCASTER LONDON OR BRISTOL. Atkins, Middlesex, 747; Pye, XXVI, 1.

The dies for the obverses of Nos. II, III and IV were engraved by Wigan (Pye, index, p. 2).

Issue of 1795; one penny and two halfpenny tokens:—

Penny.—Obverse: the Free Masons' arms; supporters and crest as on the first-mentioned halfpenny of 1794, no inner circle; legend: * PRO BONO PUBLICO. * (Pl. No. 8.)

Reverse: a cupid and Masonic emblems in a triangle, as on the 1794 halfpenny; no inner circle; legend, commencing on the left: MASONIC * PENNY 1795. (Pl. No. 9.)

Edge: MANUFACTURED BY W. LUTWYCHE BIRMINGHAM • x • Atkins, Middlesex, 71.

Halfpennies.—I. Obverse: profile bust of the Duke of York, to the right; no inner circle; legend, commencing on the left: FRED^k DUKE OF YORK.; in the exergue: HALFPENNY 1795. (Pl. No. 10.)

Reverse: from the same die as the first obverse of 1794. Atkins, 261.

Edges: (1) PAYABLE IN DUBLIN OR LONDON • + • + • Atkins, not local, 181. (2) Milled. Atkins, 181*a*.

II.—Obverse : the Free Masons' arms, as on the first obverse of 1794, Atkins, 261, but with square and compass below ; no inner circle ; legend, commencing on the left : PRO BONO PUBLICO. (Pl. No. 11.)

Reverse : I. H. B. in script ; a pair of scales above and 1795 below ; no inner circle ; legend, commencing on the left : EAST GRINSTEAD HALFPENNY. Pye, XXIX, 5. (Pl. No. 12.)

Edges : (1) PAYABLE AT I + H BOORMAN • × • Atkins, Sussex, 21. (2) PAYABLE IN LANCASTER LONDON OR BRISTOL. Atkins, 21a.

Issue of 1796 :—

In this year there is only one token, a halfpenny, Atkins, Middlesex, 209, where it is described as follows :—

“Obverse : a man hanging, P⊙T, a cap of liberty on a pole, a medallion bearing an anchor, HOPE, cross, crown, etc. ; on the ground, LIBERTY • AND • NOT SLAVERY •, and a monument inscribed : PEACE 1796. (Pl. No. 13.)

“Reverse : An obelisk and masonic emblems : GOD THE FIRST ARCHITECT. EX : JACOBS. Edge : Engrailed.” Illustrated in Messrs. Dalton and Hamer's *Provincial Token Coinage of the Eighteenth Century*, Middlesex, p. 127, No. 291.

The obverse is clearly not Masonic, as the P⊙T is meant for the Rt. Hon, W. Pitt, who was the Prime Minister that year, but belongs to the political series before referred to, as it was dedicated to the London Correspondence Society.

These tokens generally show that the Free Masons of the time took a great interest in their order, and that they were proud of belonging to it. Doubtless there are other tokens referring to Free Masonry which are not enumerated in this paper.

PLATE.

I have to thank Mr. William Hammond, F.S.A., Librarian of the Grand Lodge Library, Freemasons' Hall, for the loan of Nos. 5 and 9, Mr. Lionel Fletcher for Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 10, and Messrs. Spink and Son for Nos. 7 and 11.



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NAVAL MEDALS.

PLATE I.

MEDALLIC ILLUSTRATIONS OF NAVAL HISTORY.

BY ADMIRAL THE MARQUESS OF MILFORD HAVEN.

HE custom of commemorating naval deeds on medals is a very old one. It was practised by the ancient Greeks and Romans, though they used coins for the purpose, not medals ; the honour was all the greater. The earliest event of which I can find any such record is that of the battle of Salamis, which was fought nearly 2400 years ago—one of the greatest in all history. The pieces were, however, in this case not struck until over 300 years later. They show on the Reverse the monument erected at Salamis to Themistocles.

Later events were frequently recorded on the coins of the period ; thus the destruction of the fleet of Antium in 338 B.C., was so far-reaching an event that henceforth the bronze coinage of Rome showed one of the prows of the destroyed vessels which had been brought up as trophies and set up in the Forum as orator's platform—hence the term “ Rostrum.” The battles of Cos, Ægusa, Ægina, Crete and on the Sicilian Coast, as well as the deeds of Admirals Statius Marcus, Ahenobarbus, Sextus Pompeius and others, ending in the great battle of Actium 31 B.C., were commemorated on many coins. After an interval of nearly three centuries the expedition to Britain of Cassianus Latinus Postumus, who ruled over Gaul *circ.* 260–270, gave rise to several coins of similar character. Marcus Aurelius Carausius (A.D. 286–293) was the first independent ruler of Britain who organised a fleet, with which he cleared the North Sea of German pirates. A silver denarius of the period celebrates these successes. Carausius was murdered by his admiral, Allectus, who usurped the throne, but whose fleet failed to prevent the invasion by Constantius Chlorus' fleet under Asclepiodotus. Allectus, defeated and killed by the invaders, had, during his three

years' reign, a coin struck in London in honour of his fleet. For the next twelve centuries naval doings remained unrecorded on coins or medals, until the revival of the medallic art in the sixteenth century. Ships had sometimes appeared on coins, such as our Nobles and Angels, but this was purely emblematical. All maritime countries soon began to commemorate the deeds of their fleets and admirals on medals specially struck, some being used as naval rewards. These have been continued down to our days, and form a most valuable and interesting record of naval history. These medals on naval as well as other subjects are dealt with in many books of great value to the collector. Our national collections are fully described in Hawkins' great work, edited by Franks and Grueber in 1885. So far, however, it only reaches down to the death of George II. Mr. Grueber, then Keeper of the Coins, later on began to publish a description of "English Personal Medals," arranged alphabetically, but up to now has only reached the letter H. The Republics of Genoa and Venice were the first to make practical use of the medallic art, first revived in their country, and the first great naval event thus celebrated was the battle of Lepanto, in 1571, when the combined fleets of Christendom defeated those of the infidels.

In this country the defeat of the Spanish Armada was the first subject of naval medals. These had, however, been preceded by a very curious engraved piece, which Sir Francis Drake had made in the Netherlands, in 1586, as a record of his famous voyage round the world, 1577 to 1580 (Pl. I, No. 1). The Earth's two hemispheres and Drake's track are represented on the two sides of a thin silver disc, being an exact copy of the large map which Drake had made for the Queen in the Netherlands. He seems to have had a number of these medals made, presumably for presentation to friends. Besides his own, in the leather case in which he used to carry it about, and which is still preserved at Nutwell Court, the Drake family seat, only four specimens are known. Some of the Armada medals and counters were struck in the Netherlands (Pl. I, No. 3). Two types, bearing her bust, were struck by Queen Elizabeth. The one shows on the reverse the Ark on the

waves, the other a bay tree on an island (Pl. I, No. 2). They are cast in very high relief and beautifully chased, and were made in England, but the names of the artists are not known. There are no records as to any of these having actually been bestowed as Naval Rewards. They were probably distributed as mementos. The destruction of some Spanish galleys by Sir Robert Mansel in 1602, near the Goodwin Sands, is commemorated, amongst other events, on two Dutch medals.

No naval medals were struck in the reign of James I, but Charles I caused a beautiful piece to be made, in 1630, to assert his claim of being "Monarch of the Sea" (Pl. II, No. I). Nine years later this medal was issued afresh at the time of disputes with Spain. The British Museum possesses two medals with Prince Rupert's bust, of Dutch make. They have neither legend nor date, and were probably made after his military services in the Civil War, but before he had distinguished himself at sea in the Dutch Wars. The Commonwealth Parliament ordered several medals to be struck as Naval Rewards, between 1650 and 1653, the work of Thomas Simon (Pl. II, No. 2). For the victories over the Dutch in the summer of 1653 a gold medal was issued in three classes, for Flag Officers, Captains, and Officers of lower rank, differentiated by the border. They were all intended to be worn round the neck on gold chains of varying value. The "General's" chain was worth £300. Of Blake no contemporary medals exist. In the Ducal Collection at Gotha there is a probably unique cast and chased medallion of Richard Earl of Warwick, who was appointed Lord High Admiral in 1642. A gold medal of Edward, first Earl of Sandwich, was struck in 1658, but no specimen has been met with. F. Perry gave an illustration of it in his work on medals in 1762.

Charles II's return in 1660, escorted by the fleet, was celebrated on several medals by Dutch artists (two embossed plates, chased and united by broad rim) (Pl. II, No. 3). Portrait medallions of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, were executed at the time of his elevation to the peerage (1660). The wars with the Dutch were foreshadowed on a medal struck by the King in

1662, when naval rivalry between the two countries began to show itself. The victory off Lowestoft, obtained over the Dutch in the first year of the war (June 3, 1665), gave rise to a fine medal by John Roettier (who worked in England) (Pl. III, No. 1); the legend was "Pro talibus ausis," and the medal was intended as a Naval Reward for this and subsequent battles. The King also had two medals struck in honour of the Duke of York, the naval commander-in-chief, whose bust is shown on the obverses. Several smaller medals, also patterns for halfpennies and farthings, were made to celebrate the command of the sea obtained by this great battle. No medals were specially struck to commemorate the four days' battle of 1666, nor, in the following war, on the important battle of Solebay, of 1672, and the several actions of 1673. Soon after the Restoration, which consolidated its position at Bombay, the East India Company began to bestow medals on the captains of its ships who had distinguished themselves in the numerous actions they had to fight.

On his accession James II caused the medal with the legend "Genus antiquum," which his brother had struck in his honour, to be reissued as a reward for services against Monmouth's and Argyle's invasion. In 1685 two small medals were struck to commemorate the success of Sir Samuel Morland's steam pump as fitted to ships (Pl. III, No. 2). Christopher Duke of Albemarle, when Governor-General of Jamaica in 1687, was instrumental in raising an immense treasure from a Spanish wreck. Two medals were struck in honour of the event, one with busts of the King and Queen, the other with that of Albemarle. Several medals were struck in Holland to celebrate the voyage of William of Orange from that country and his landing at Torbay in 1688. The energetic action taken by Queen Mary, as Regent, after the unfortunate battle of Beachy Head in 1690, is recorded on a medal which shows the ships being refitted, while the admiral, Torrington, is led off to the Tower. The great victory of La Hogue, or Barfleur, two years later, when the greatly superior Anglo-Dutch fleet practically destroyed that of France, which was intended to replace King James on the English throne, was the subject of about thirty different medals. The best Dutch



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NAVAL MEDALS.

PLATE II.

and German artists competed on this occasion, and the variety of artistic designs is very great (Pl. III, No. 3 ; reverse only shown). Some bear the King's bust, others those of the King and Queen, superposed. A number of these medals are satirical, after the manner of the times, Louis XIV being repeatedly represented as the Pseudo-Neptune in a marine car drawn by frogs (Pl. III, No. 4). The *Soleil Royal*, Admiral Tourville's flagship, is shown as blowing up ; her name referred to the French king's title of the " Roi soleil."

There are no records that any of these medals were used as rewards for the battle. One of them, however, was given in gold to Captain J. Tupper of a Guernsey privateer, for services after the battle. His descendants still possess it, with the gold chain 3 feet long. The bombardments of French Channel ports during the next few years, in retaliation for those of Genoa and others, were duly recorded on several medals. The brazen bull, invented by Perillus for the Tyrant of Agrigentum, figures on one of the Reverses. Queen Anne inaugurated her reign by striking a medal of her husband as Lord High Admiral, an office he only held for a few years. In 1702 a large expedition, the troops under the Duke of Ormonde, the combined Anglo-Dutch fleet under Sir George Rooke, was sent out to seize Cadiz. Having failed in its object it was homeward bound, when the admiral received information that the Spanish Plate fleet with its French escort had arrived at Vigo. Its capture was at once decided upon, and on October 12/23, the troops seized the forts, the fleet forced the boom, and every vessel behind it was either taken or destroyed. Treasure to the amount of seven million dollars was brought home. Nine different medals were struck in England, Holland and Germany to commemorate the event. Hautsch's medal gives the names of all the French ships burnt, sunk or captured. The leaders of the expedition were not named on any of them, but soon afterwards a fine medal was produced, by a Swedish artist, showing the busts of Admiral Rooke and his wife. From the treasure captured a complete set of coinage, including a few gold pieces, with the word VIGO under the Queen's bust, was struck. The crowns

and half crowns bear the edge legend "Decus et tutamen anno regni secundo."

The capture of Gibraltar and the indecisive action of the Anglo-Dutch fleet off Malaga with the French in 1704 are commemorated on one English and two German medals. Another piece deals with the relief of Barcelona in 1706. The attempted invasion of Scotland two years later, by a French squadron carrying Prince James, forms the subject of seven medals by the leading medallists of the day. Another medal of that year commemorates the capture of Sardinia and Minorca by Admiral Leake and General Stanhope. A counter also exists of the same design.

Queen Anne bestowed many medals as Naval Rewards, including for the first time medals for the men of the fleet. The only specimen of the latter which I have come across is in Dr. Payne's collection at Sheffield. It is a large silver medal, and was given to Robert Taylor, boy, of the *Mary* galley, the occasion being the capture of a French privateer (Pl. IV, No. 8). It is undated, and I have failed to find any mention of the action in the Admiralty records. The bulk of these medals no doubt went into the melting-pot.

The battle of Passaro (1718) was the chief naval event of George I's reign. The Spaniards were practically in possession of Sicily, Messina alone holding out, when Sir George Byng's squadron, sent out from England to the Emperor's assistance, appeared off the place. The Spanish squadron had fled South, but was overtaken and destroyed. Four medals were struck, in London, Vienna, and two at Nuremberg, again without reference to the admiral, who, however, gained a peerage. A satirical medal on the double failure of this Spanish fleet and the "Invincible Armada" of 1588, was struck about this time. Its provenance is not known. A very rare medal, of unknown origin, commemorates an abortive attempt by the Spanish land and sea forces on Gibraltar in 1727.

No event in naval history has produced such a flow of commemorative medals as Admiral Vernon's exploits on the coast of Central America. Spain's arbitrary and vexatious enforcement of the right of search in these seas, which generally meant confiscation, had

caused enormous damage to British trade during a quarter of a century of nominal peace, whilst the government took no steps to put an end to this intolerable state of affairs. Vernon, who had served many years in command of ships in the West Indies, was at that time a popular and active member of the Opposition in Parliament, and, during the session of 1739, on one occasion wound up a violent attack on Sir Robert Walpole's government by declaring that with only six ships of the line he would be prepared to capture Porto Bello, the fortified port on the Isthmus of Darien, which was the secure base of the Spanish Guarda-Costas. Vernon was taken at his word, promoted to Vice-Admiral of the Blue and sent off in command of six ships in July (Pl. IV, No. 1). He appeared off Porto Bello on the evening of November 20, by which time war had been declared, and by the morning of the 22nd he was master of the place.

In March, 1740, Vernon captured the fort at the mouth of the Chagres river, the highway of transport of treasure from Peru and Mexico. Strongly reinforced from home by ships and troops during the winter, he made an attempt on Carthagená in 1741, but failed, chiefly owing to quarrels with the general. The greater part of these medals, very poor in design and workmanship, were issued by E. Pinchbeck and struck in the alloy of his invention called "Pinchbeck gold." Many varieties exist (over 200 have been described) and errors are frequent; on one piece Admiral Ogle is described as General. All the dies were, moreover, freely "muled." From my collection I can only produce one unpublished piece: it commemorates the capture of the outer fort of Carthagená, and shows the busts of Vernon, General Wentworth, who led the assault, and Commodore Lestock, who commanded the bombarding ships.

A gallant fireship action by Captain Callis, who destroyed five Spanish galleys off St. Tropez in 1742, was rewarded by a gold medal specially struck. A medal by A. R. Werner, of Stuttgart, with George II's bust, commemorates the unfortunate action off Toulon in 1744, which cost Admiral Mathews his commission. A satirical medal exists on the same event. In 1745 two privateers

captured in the North Atlantic two out of three French treasure ships from the Pacific. The medal struck in honour of the event shows on the Reverse, besides the medallions of the two captains, the last of the forty-five waggons which carried in a long procession the treasure to the Tower. A very handsome medal, of a classical design, by Pingo, commemorates Lord Anson's services, notably his voyage round the world in the *Centurion* and his subsequent victory over the French off Finisterre in May, 1747. From the huge treasure captured by Anson in the *N. S. de Covadonga* in 1743, in the Pacific, a set of silver coinage was struck, bearing the word Lima below the King's bust. The larger coins have the same edge reading as the "Vigo" coinage mentioned before.

Hawke's brilliant action of October 14, 1747, off Finisterre, when he destroyed a French squadron from La Rochelle, while in temporary command of the Channel Squadron as a newly promoted Rear Admiral, has no medallic record. The failure of Admiral Byng to protect Minorca against the French, in 1756, gave rise to a satirical medal in three varieties. The suggestion of bribery made on this medal was never seriously put forward. The conquest of Cape Breton Island, and its strongly fortified port of Louisburg, from the French, in 1758, was commemorated on two medals. Of that with the head of Britannia there are four varieties, the designs being by Pingo and Cipriani. A similar medal was struck for the capture of Goree, the same year, by Commodore Keppel, whose name appears on the edge of some specimens. The share of Admiral Boscawen, the naval commander at Louisburg, was celebrated on half a dozen popular medals of the Pinchbeck type of poor workmanship (Pl. IV, No. 2). The Society for Promoting Arts and Commerce issued three handsome medals by T. Pingo on the achievements of the year 1759; the capture of the Island of Guadeloupe in May, of Quebec in September, and Hawke's splendid victory of Quiberon in November. The last-named event is further referred to on a medal showing the British Lion devouring French lilies, with the legend: "Finis coronat opus." The Naval and Military successes of the years 1758, 1759, and both together are further



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NAVAL MEDALS.

PLATE III.

commemorated on three medals of similar design, with the King's bust. In 1760 the East India Company had a large medal struck for Captain Wilson of the *Pitt*, who had reduced the homeward journey by six months by trying a new route.

George III's reign opened with the capture of Belleisle, off the French Atlantic coast, by a joint naval and military expedition in the summer of 1761, and was commemorated by two medals, one of which is the same as Cipriani's medal for Louisburg, with the legend altered. The successes of 1762 are embodied on a medal with the King's bust in armour. The naval specimens include the capture of Havana, Martinique and other West India islands, also of the Spanish treasure ship *Hermione*.

Captain Cook has been celebrated on several medals. The first, with the King's bust, shows the *Resolution* and *Adventure* sailing under Cook's command in 1772, on his second voyage, but his name is not mentioned. After his tragic death four memorial medals appeared, one being struck by the Royal Society, of which Cook was a member, and executed by L. Pingo (Pl. IV, No. 4). The latest is dated from 1823, one of Durand's series. Admiral Lord Rodney is a very popular subject of medals, none of which, however, is of any artistic value. His defeat of the Spanish squadron of Langara, off Cape St. Vincent, in 1780, and subsequent relief of besieged Gibraltar, the capture of St. Eustatia Island (Pl. IV, No. 5), with its immense treasure, from the Dutch, in 1781, and, finally, his great victory of April 12, 1782, over the French under de Grasse, which overshadowed his previous actions in these waters, are dealt with on fifteen medals (at least in my collection); all show Rodney's bust. The great siege of Gibraltar, 1779 to 1783, forms the subject of several medals, some of which show the bust of General Eliot, the Governor. The chief naval episode, the attack by special closed-in floating batteries in September, 1782, is recorded on several pieces. Special rewards, in the shape of engraved copper badges, made during the siege at Gibraltar, were presented to deserving soldiers by their commanding officers. Many forged pieces of this kind have appeared on the market. A

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Dutch counter of the period celebrates the siege of Gibraltar and the loss of the *Royal George* with Admiral Kempenfelt, whose squadron was under orders to relieve the "Rock." Admiral Keppel's action with the French off Ushant, in 1778, is celebrated on four medals in the style of Rodney's described above (Pl. IV, No. 3). Two others, one of Danish provenance, deal with Keppel's very popular acquittal by the Court Martial which investigated the charges of misconduct in the battle, brought against his chief by Admiral Palliser, the incompetent second-in-command. The indecisive, but very determined action fought between two small, evenly matched British and Dutch convoying squadrons on the Doggerbank on August 5, 1781, is another unrecorded incident. The Admirals were Hyde Parker and Zoutman. Numerous Dutch medals were struck to commemorate this fight.

A more regrettable omission in our medallic records is the series of five remarkable actions fought in the East Indies between February, 1782, and June, 1783, by Sir Edward Hughes and de Suffren, the ablest of all French admirals. The "glorious first of June" (1794) and Lord Howe, the victorious admiral, form the subject of four very fine medals by Barnett, Küchler and Wyon, as well as of a brass medalet. Barnett's medal records the names of all the flag officers under Howe. The event was also celebrated on many of the Halfpenny and Farthing tokens of the period. This, the first fleet action in the long war begun the year before, led to the institution by the King of a gold medal, which became the regular reward for all subsequent actions. Admirals wore it round the neck, Captains in somewhat smaller size in the buttonhole. After the battle, Lord Howe had a number of badges made from the metal of captured bronze cannon. These were in the shape of a "foul anchor" within an oval band, suitably inscribed, and were given to men who had especially distinguished themselves in the battle. The custom was continued by other admirals for subsequent battles, and sometimes by captains, *e.g.*, Captain Broke of the *Shannon*. These badges were also made in gold and worn by officers on the anniversaries of the battles they commemorated.

A medalet of the Pinchbeck kind exists with Lord Howe's bust as Commodore in the Channel in 1758, the reverse showing William Pitt's bust. Lord Howe's action off Rhode Island in 1778 forms the subject of a Dutch counter. During the year after the great victory, a portion of the Channel Fleet under Lord Bridport, the second-in-command, fought an action with a French squadron, which was chased close to Isle Groix. It forms the subject of one of the numerous medals issued during the course of the war by P. Kempton, of Birmingham, on which there is a strange likeness of all busts to each other. Another commemorates Captain Trollope's remarkable action in July, 1796, in command of the *Glatton*, armed principally with heavy carronades, with which he successfully fought six French frigates in the North Sea. Sir John Jervis' signal victory off Cape St. Vincent, in 1797, is commemorated on three medals and a brass medalet. It also figures largely on the tokens. A few years later Lord St. Vincent had a medal, bearing his bust, made by Kùchler, and distributed it to the crew of his flagship as a "testimony of approbation" of their having remained loyal through the time of the great mutiny in the fleet.

The second great victory of the year 1797, that of Camperdown, was commemorated on four medals, a brass medalet, and numerous tokens, all showing Lord Duncan's bust. In the height of the battle the main top gallant mast of the flagship was shot away, bringing down with it the admiral's flag. A seaman named Crawford picked it up, took it aloft and nailed it to the topmast.¹ The incident is depicted on the reverse of Hancock's medal, but the Royal Standard is substituted for the Blue Flag. Crawford received a large silver medal from his native town of Sunderland as a reward. It is still preserved there. Another medal by Hancock was struck in honour of Admiral Onslow, Duncan's second-in-command in the battle.

I now come to the largest of all groups of medals : those struck in honour of the immortal Nelson. They had their beginning in 1798, after the battle of the Nile. Those in my collection number about

¹ The R.Y.S. at Cowes possesses a painting by Luny of the battle, where the *Venerable* is shown flying the Blue Flag from the stump of the main topmast.

sixty, not counting the tokens, and may be divided as follows: ten for the battle of the Nile (Pl. IV, No. 6), a Neapolitan medal for services to the king, one on his return home in 1800, two for the battle of Copenhagen, twenty for Trafalgar (Pl. IV, No. 7), sixteen memorial medals, and ten of his monuments and other subjects. One of the first was the medal struck by Mr. A. Davison, Nelson's agent and friend, for distribution in the squadron which fought at the Nile. Curiously enough, on the reverse, which gives a view of Aboukir Bay and the battle, the topography has been reversed, and it must be held before a looking-glass to appear right. Josiah Wedgwood issued a fine medallion of Nelson that year, the work of J. de Vaere, which was both cast in bronze, and made in jasper and basalt ware.

I possess a gold badge with Nelson's bust and the date of the battle of Copenhagen, of which I have only come across one other specimen, in Dr. Payne's collection at Sheffield. His is engraved on the back, it being uniface: CAPT. GEO. MURRAY, H.M.S. EDGAR, who fought at Copenhagen. Mr. Emanuel, of Portsea, once possessed a silver-gilt specimen, which was illustrated a few years ago in a book on Nelson, and was there described as a badge believed to have been presented by Nelson to the men of the two regiments embarked in the fleet as Marines. I cannot find any authority for this; moreover, the inscription is that of something presented to Nelson, not by him to others. Mr. Davison announced his intention in a London paper, soon after the battle, of having a medal struck for distribution similar to that for the Nile. This was never carried out, but when, to Nelson's indignation, the King's gold medal was withheld from him and his captains, it is possible that Mr. Davison may have presented them with this badge to fill the gap.¹ Mr. Mathew Boulton, of Soho, had a medal struck for distribution in Nelson's fleet for Trafalgar, and so had Dr. Turton, though his does not appear to have been distributed. A third medal is reputed to

¹ I should be grateful for any information on the subject. All Nelson's orders and medals went to his relatives intact and complete, and no such badge was included.



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NAVAL MEDALS.

PLATE IV.

have been struck by Mr. Davison for the crew of the *Victory*, but this seems to be doubtful.

Prince d'Essling possesses, in his great collection of medals of the Napoleonic era, in Paris, a uniface gold badge, cast and chased, of Nelson and Trafalgar. A set of four small counters for St. Vincent, Nile, Copenhagen and Trafalgar was issued in a silver case. After the war Mudie issued a medal with the bust of Nelson and Wellington, on the two sides.

Snuff-boxes of Pinchbeck gold with Nelson's bust, struck from dies, on the lid and battle record on back are not uncommon. The box exhibited by me when this paper was read is more rare; it is made with the enlarged dies of a medal and contains a dozen colour prints of naval battles from Rodney's victory to Algiers, which fixes the date of its issue. The Trafalgar Square Column and the Birmingham monument figure on a number of medals.

Admiral Collingwood's services as second-in-command at Trafalgar are commemorated by a poor medal by an unknown artist. John Westwood, junior, made a medal with the king's bust, Victory and the year 1805 on the reverse, which clearly refers to Trafalgar, but ignores Nelson. Sir J. B. Warren's successful action off Tory Island in 1798, which frustrated Bompert's raid, is commemorated on two medals, one by Hancock. A medal by Küchler, with the King's bust, celebrates the victories of the year 1798 generally, which included the capture of Port Mahon. Sir Sidney Smith's brilliant exploits at Acre in 1799 are recorded on three medals and a brass medalet. A later portrait medal as Admiral, dated 1805, is by Webb; this was reissued in 1816 in connection with the bombardment of Algiers, the admiral being the head of a society whose aim was the liberation of Christian slaves. A medal to Admiral Lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercromby by Hancock was struck in 1801, on the occasion of the latter's death on board the admiral's flagship.

I possess a curious engraved dollar illustrating Sir James Saumarez's action near Gibraltar in 1801. In 1804 an East India Company's squadron successfully fought a French squadron

near the Straits of Malacca. This is celebrated on a medal issued by Mudie; the reverse deals with the Company's settlement at Bombay in 1662. The last of the special fireship medals was struck for Captain J. Wooldridge in connection with the action in Aix Roads in February, 1809. The famous duel between the *Shannon* and *Chesapeake*, of 1813, is only recorded on a Nova Scotia halfpenny token, but two of Captain Broke's granddaughters issued a centenary medal of the event in 1913. The final stage of the great war is marked by a medal showing Napoleon a prisoner on board *H.M.S. Bellerophon*. The nineteenth century, after the Peace, offers little of interest; the bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth, in 1816, was practically the last event commemorated by several medals. Mudie's medal shows the somewhat inappropriate subject of Neptune killing a seahorse. The Prince Regent had a fine medal made by Wyon, with his bust, and a view of the bombardment on the reverse, which he presented to the admiral in gold. A third was struck by Sidney Smith's anti-slavery society mentioned before, while a brass medalet was added to the set of these. Lord Exmouth, under his old name of Pellew, and as frigate captain, appears on many tokens of the late eighteenth century. The "Followers" of Admiral Duckworth, of Dardanelles fame, had a medal struck with his bust in 1817.

The battle of Navarino (1827) was only commemorated on a French medal, the combined fleet under Admiral Codrington consisting of British, French and Russian ships. In Prince d'Essling's collection I found a curious medal with the admiral's bust and a view of the fight on the reverse, carved out of a piece of mother-of-pearl. The legend is in German. The short term of office as Lord High Admiral of the Duke of Clarence, about this time, is recorded on two medals.

In Queen Victoria's long reign the following are amongst the subjects of medals produced by private enterprise, as, indeed, were nearly all those I have enumerated, since the reign of George II: Admiral Sir Charles Napier, commander of the Baltic fleet during the first summer of the war with Russia; the giant steamer *Great*

Eastern, the Chinese junk *Keying*, the first—and only—craft of the kind to reach England; *H.M.S. Calliope* in the hurricane at Samoa, the “Coffin ships,” so successfully attacked by S. Plimsoll; the launch of ships like the battleship *Royal Sovereign* and the cruiser *Royal Arthur*, reviews at Spithead, the hospital ship *Maine*, etc., etc.

In my enumeration of naval medals through three centuries I have, of course, had to leave out many minor ones, although of much interest, and I have only casually mentioned the Tokens, bronze coins issued for private circulation, many of which bear portraits of admirals and references to naval victories. Those of the latter part of the eighteenth century are the most interesting. Indiscriminate “muling” has produced a bewildering mass, which is further increased by the many edge inscriptions. Nelson comes into the nineteenth-century tokens, which were short lived.

In conclusion, I should like to refer briefly to another kind of naval medal, which many people speak of as the only naval medals. I mean the entirely modern “War Medal,” with the sovereign’s bust, which is bestowed on all ranks—Army and Navy—who have served through a campaign, and which is worn on a coloured ribbon. Collections have been formed of these, which has led to a great deal of “faking.” As the recipient’s name is engraved on the edge, these collections are really records of services of individuals. Their numismatic value is not very apparent.

The first of these War Medals date from the early years of Queen Victoria’s reign. Up to now, but excluding the present war, they number over thirty. The first of these, instituted in 1847, but not struck until 1848, was intended for the subjects of George III, survivors of the great war, 1793 to 1815. Including boat actions, the number of clasps this medal carried was 230, and it is no wonder that it took the committee of admirals three years to complete their lists. This medal was afterwards extended to the bombardment of Algiers, 1816, the battle of Navarino, 1827, and lastly the Syrian War of 1840. The ribbon, white with dark blue edges, is that of George III’s gold medals of 1794 for flag officers and captains. These were replaced in 1815 by the newly instituted military K.C.B. and C.B.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

Plate I.

1. Engraved map of Sir Francis Drake's voyage round the world.
2. Bust of Queen Elizabeth ; reverse dispersal of the Spanish Armada.
3. England on a rock amid the stormy sea ; reverse, dispersal of the Armada.

Plate II.

1. Medal of Charles I, asserting the sovereignty of the sea.
2. Flag Officers' Naval Reward issued by the Commonwealth.
3. Return of Charles II in 1660.

Plate III.

1. Naval reward issued by Charles II.
2. Commemoration of Morland's steam pump.
3. [Obverse, Bust of William III] ; reverse, Battle of La Hogue, 1692.
4. Battle of La Hogue, 1692.

Plate IV.

1. Vice-Admiral Vernon sails for Porto Bello, 1739.
2. Admiral Boscawen [reverse, View of Louisburg, 1758].
3. Admiral Keppel [reverse, Battle of Ushant, 1778].
4. Captain Cook [reverse, inscription].
5. Admiral Rodney—capture of St. Eustatia, 1781.
6. Admiral Nelson [reverse, inscription, 1788].
7. Uniface Silver Badge commemorating Nelson and Trafalgar.
8. [Obverse, Bust of Queen Anne] ; reverse, inscription in honour of the Boy, Robert Taylor.

MEDALS OF THE SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT,
NOW THE SECOND BATTALION THE DUKE OF
CAMBRIDGE'S OWN MIDDLESEX REGIMENT.

BY CHARLES WINTER.

THE old Seventy-Seventh was one of four regiments raised in 1787 for service under the East India Company. It saw considerable service in India, including the campaigns against Tippoo Sahib in 1790-91, at the reduction of Ceylon in 1795, at Goa in the Mysore War of 1799, including the storming and capture of Seringapatam, and returned home in 1807. It was then given the county title of East Middlesex, and after serving in the Walcheren Expedition in 1809, joined Wellington's Army in Spain, where, in Picton's division, it won great distinction. During the combat at El Bodon, Wellington had ordered up a brigade of the Fourth Division from Guinaldo; but, in the meantime, drew up the Seventy-Fifth and Seventy-Seventh regiments with the Twenty-First Portuguese and two brigades of Artillery, on the hill over which the road to Guinaldo passed, supporting the flanks with Alten's three squadrons. The French cavalry, under Montbrun, in spite of the artillery and musketry, charged up the height, but they were checked by the daring spirit of the English cavalry, who maintained their position until the French general, bringing up his artillery and horsemen, gained ground in the centre and captured the guns. At this critical moment, Major Ridge led the Fifth regiment and retook the artillery, which again opened its fire, whilst the Seventy-Seventh supported by the Twenty-First Portuguese, repulsed the enemy on the left.

Montbrun still pressed forward with fresh masses against the left Allies, whilst other squadrons penetrated between the right flank and the village of El Bodon. The position being no longer tenable, Wellington directed Picton and Colville to fall back and unite in the plains below, but whilst this movement was being carried out, the British as well as the Portuguese having retired, the Fifth and Seventy-Seventh formed into one square and became exposed to the enemy; in an instant, the French cavalry came galloping down upon them, but without effect, and all their efforts to turn them were in vain.

In a General Order, Lord Wellington pointed out that it would be practically impossible for any troops to be more outnumbered, and held up the conduct of the brigade to the whole Army, as a memorable example of what can be done by steadiness, discipline and confidence.

With the "Fighting Division" the Seventy-Seventh bore its share in the desperate assaults of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz.

About 1817, the Officers of the Seventy-Seventh regiment decided to obtain permission to issue gold and silver medals to the deserving non-commissioned officers and privates who had served at Seringapatam, of which there were only a few survivors still serving in the regiment, El Bodon, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. Application was made to the Adjutant-General, and Major-General Sir C. Cooke, K.C.B., then commanding the Seventy-Seventh, received the following letter, sanctioning the distribution of the medal.

Horse Guards, 4th January, 1818.

SIR,

I have had the honour to receive and submit to the Commander-in-Chief your application from the officer commanding the Seventy-Seventh Regiment, for permission to issue medals to be worn by the men of the corps who served at certain places mentioned, and in reply I have it in command to signify to you, that although the Commander-in-Chief is not aware of the expedience of individual distinctions of the above nature being granted, the Prince Regent having already sanctioned the honours due to the Regiment collec-

To face page 187.



REGIMENTAL AND PENINSULAR MEDALS OF THE 77TH REGIMENT.

tively, yet his Royal Highness will not offer any objection to the measure recommended. I have his command at the same time to observe that it is presumed that the Medals which are proposed to be given will only be granted to individuals having claims from merit and particular good conduct.

(Signed) HENRY CALVERT, A.-G.

Major-General Sir C. Cooke, K.C.B., Colonel Seventy-Seventh Regiment.

Three dies were used for the striking of the Regimental Medals, one obverse and two reverse, but I am unable to account for this—seeing that the actions are engraved and only a very few men received the Seringapatam medal—unless one of the dies broke ; the difference of the reverse is so very slight, in the wreath, that a mark of distinction could hardly have been intended between the Seringapatam medal and that for the Peninsular services.

No. 1. GOLD MEDAL.—

Obverse : Struck in relief, The Prince of Wales's plume and regimental number 77 between two laurel branches on which is a riband inscribed PENINSULA.

Reverse : SERINGAPATAM engraved in the centre of a laurel wreath in relief.

Edge : engraved Serjeant T. Marshall 30 years Meritorious Service.

No. 2. SILVER MEDAL.—

Obverse : as No. 1.

Reverse : El Vodon (*sic*), Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos.

Edge : engraved PRIVATE JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 3. MILITARY GENERAL SERVICE, 2 bars, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, James Greenwood, 77th Foot.

This medal represents the only bars that were granted with the General Service medal to the Seventy-Seventh.

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- 1906. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
- 1907. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
- 1908. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
- 1909. W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
- 1910. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
- 1911. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
- 1912. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
- 1913. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
- 1914. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
- 1915. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
- 1916. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.

The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by Mr. John Sanford Saltus, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

MEDALLISTS.

- 1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A.
- 1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
- 1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.
- 1917. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.

O

The British Numismatic Society.

PROCEEDINGS.

1916.

ORDINARY MEETING.

January 19th, 1916.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Presentation.

Mr. Coleman P. Hyman.—*The Coinage and Paper Currency of South Australia*, by Thomas Gill.

Exhibitions.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.—Charles I.: The series of silver coins in illustration of his paper on the Shrewsbury mint, 1642.

Mr. J. O. Manton.—Charles I.: A Shrewsbury half-crown, 1642; mint-mark one pellet, of the variety on which the line representing the ground below the horse's hoofs is absent. Usually these coins are clipped, but this was as struck. From a small hoard found in Derby about thirty years ago.

O 2

Mr. W. M. Maish.—Charles I. : Silver coins of the Shrewsbury mint, 1642. Pound-piece with the four pellets, damaged as usual in the die, for the mint-mark on the obverse. Reverse, five pellets. Half-pound-piece, mint-mark on the obverse a plume, but none on the reverse, and no plume behind the King. Crown-piece bearing the thick plumes referred to by Colonel Morrieson, and mint-mark on the obverse a single pellet, and on the reverse five pellets. Half-crown, mint-mark seven pellets, plume behind the King's head and ground line under the horse.

Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton.—Charles I. : Shilling struck from an obverse die of coarse work of the Shrewsbury type, and a reverse die of the Oxford mint.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Charles I. : A shilling of 1643 with the monogram BR for Bristol as the reverse mint-mark.

Sixpence of 1643 with the same mint-mark, but a coin of peculiar character and workmanship.

Sixpence of 1646 with the letter B for the reverse mint-mark.

Paper.

The President read a monograph on the coins of the Shrewsbury mint, 1642. The money of this mint was the first of the well-known "Declaration" type, and was issued about a month after Charles I., at the head of his army, had made this proclamation to preserve the religion, laws and privileges of Parliament, at Wellington on his way to Shrewsbury. Although issued at first as medals at the instance of Thomas Bushell, the mint-master, the coins conformed in value with the general currency of the period, and passed as such. For the very short time the mint was in operation, some three months in all, the number of varieties struck was large. This, in the author's opinion, was due to the pressure of work, which necessitated the employment of more than one engraver, and thus each artist produced his own idea of the general design. The dies being used indiscriminately, instead

of in pairs as intended, again multiplied the varieties of the coins issued. For the silver pound-piece the President was able to enumerate four obverse and four reverse dies ; for the half-pound, six of each ; for the crown, three obverse and five reverse ; for the half-crown, six obverse and nine reverse ; and for the shilling, two obverse and two reverse dies. The smaller denominations, if issued at Shrewsbury, must have been of the ordinary Aberystwith type. Discussing the general reverse design, he suggested that the three plumes symbolized the three provisions of the Declaration, and explained that in any case one of the plumes was required to be present upon the coins under the conditions of Bushell's patent. Colonel Morrieson regretted that the names of the engravers were unknown, but because of the superiority of the art of one of the dies he thought that it well might represent the work of Thomas Rawlins. In illustration of his subject he exhibited an almost complete series of the varieties referred to, namely, five pound-pieces, six half-pound pieces, six crowns, eleven half-crowns, and three shillings. The paper was printed in vol. xii.

ORDINARY MEETING.

February 23rd, 1916.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The President announced that in recognition of the leading part taken by Mr. J. Sanford Saltus, Vice-President of the Society, in the presentation of the beautiful equestrian statue of Joan of Arc to the City of New York as a compliment to France, the French Ambassador, on behalf of his Government, had conferred upon him the Order of Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and moved from the Chair a vote of congratulation to Mr. Saltus.

Presentations.

Mr. J. Sanford Saltus.—Silver and bronze medals commemorating the unveiling the statue of Joan of Arc in the City of New York ; also a piece of stone from the dungeon in which Joan of Arc was confined.

Mr. George F. Kunz, of 405, Fifth Avenue, New York City.—The same medal struck in brass and in lead, Only these two medals were struck in those metals.

Messrs. Spink and Son, Limited.—Their *Numismatic Circular* for 1915.

Miss Helen Farquhar.—*A Guide to the Coins of English Sovereigns presented to Eton College*, by the Donor, 1915.

Exhibition of Naval and Military Medals.

The evening had been set apart for the annual exhibition of war medals, and a large and valuable display of naval and military orders, decorations, and medals resulted. Amongst these were :—

Mr. Charles Winter, for Mr. S. M. Spink.—The Gold Cross and Silver Star of the Bath ; the Gold Peninsular Cross for Corunna, Busaco, Fuentes d' Onor, and Badajoz, with five bars for Talavera, Salamanca, St. Sebastian, Vittoria, and Nive, awarded to Lieut.-Colonel Sir William Howe de Lancey, of the 45th Foot, who fell at Waterloo. Mr. Charles Winter also showed other groups of medals of almost equal interest.

The President.—An example in copper of the medal which the Marquis of Granby presented to four cadets of the Royal Military Academy in 1765 as prizes of honour, two in gold and two in silver, on which he read the following note from the "Records of the Royal Military Academy, 1851," page 17 :

“ The Marquis of Granby adjudged two medals in gold and two in silver to four of the Gentlemen Cadets as prizes of honour, with the following names inscribed on the edges of each medal :—

| | | | |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------|------|
| Gold medals. | Thomas Hyde Page | 5th June M.DCCLXV | |
| | John Cridland | do | do |
| Silver medals. | Charles Green | do | do |
| | Thomas Nepean | do | do.” |

Further particulars of the awards are given, and the medal is illustrated in vol. xii.

Mr. E. E. Needes.—A set of four medals for the Indian Mutiny, with two clasps, Defence of Lucknow and Lucknow, and Indian General Service for Umbeyla, 1863, of Major-General Delafosse, who was one of the four survivors from the massacre of Cawnpore.

A Peninsular medal with eleven clasps with the Waterloo medal of Sergeant James Ingham, of the 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers.

A Peninsular medal of four clasps with the regimental medal for six battles of David Cargill, of the Seventy-fourth Foot. Mr. Needes remarked that, in view of the latter, it was curious that only four clasps appeared on Cargill's Peninsular medal.

Mr. Frank E. Burton.—Medals, the original rolls on parchment for 1806 and 1820, a helmet and a badge of the South Nottinghamshire Yeomanry, and read a paper on the Forty-fifth Regiment.

Major W. J. Freer.—A set of ten medals, including the Peninsular with eight bars, all awarded to men of the 43rd Foot ; also a large series of military and historical medals, both British and Napoleonic.

Mr. Thomas Bearman.—Brass-plate of a kit-box inscribed, "Rt. Honble. W. Pitt, Col. Cinque Port Volunteers," which recorded a forgotten military episode in the life of the Great Commoner.

ORDINARY MEETING.

March 22nd, 1916.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The Public Library of New South Wales was elected to membership.

Presentations.

Mr. Lawrence. — Sale Catalogue of the Oxford Collection, March 18th, 1741-42.

Mr. W. J. Hocking.—Notes on a collection of coining instruments in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, by the Donor.

Exhibitions.

Mr. H. A. Parsons.—A representative series of Anglo-Saxon coins bearing small symbols, in illustration of his paper, and described in detail in it.

Mr. William C. Wells.—Sixty examples of the same interesting series of the reigns of Æthelred II., Canute, and Edward the Confessor, all of which he has submitted to Mr. Parsons for inclusion in the paper.

Mr. T. Bearman.—Penny of Æthelred II., *Hildebrand*, Type A, bearing the letter E in the field of the reverse.

Mr. H. A. Parsons.—Edward the Confessor : A mule penny connecting Major Carlyon-Britton's Types 5 and 6. The obverse is of Type 5, and the reverse is of Type 6, thus confirming his arrangement of the order.

Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton.—Henry IV. : Heavy penny of London. Obverse, a star of six points on the king's breast ; reverse, an extra pellet in the first quarter of the cross. Weight, 16.3 grains. The exhibitor believed that only three specimens of this issue had been recorded.

An early variety of the light groat. Obverse, the king's name, altered in the die from **RICARD**, and the bust that of Richard II., with bushy hair, slipped trefoil on the breast, apparently punched over the ordinary fleur, the other arches fleured with trefoils, a pellet to the left, an annulet to the right of the crown, and nine arches to the tressure ; reverse, pellets conjoined in the angles of the cross. Weight, 59 grains.

Charles I. : Tower sixpence, *Hawkins*, Type 2*b*, with mint-marks, on the obverse the plume, and on the reverse the rose.

Mr. W. Machado Maish.—Henry VI. : Penny of the Durham mint and "pine-cone and pellet" coinage. A pellet on each side of the crown, and probably a pine-cone on the breast, but this is indistinct. It was issued by Bishop Nevill, and bears his interlaced rings in the centre of the reverse cross.

Paper.

Mr. H. A. Parsons read a paper on "The Symbols and Marks on the later Anglo-Saxon Coins," in which he suggested that the numerous emblems scattered over the field of the money of this period were added for the purposes of differentiation. They assumed the form of small annulets, crosses, crescents, letters, and pellets, and a carefully prepared schedule of the coins bearing them, with the names of the moneymen and mints responsible for their issue, disclosed not only

that they were occasionally used at a large proportion of the eighty or so mints then spread over England, but also that their varieties were numbered in hundreds. The direct trend of the evidence, now classified by the author, pointed to the explanation that the chief purpose served by the addition of these little devices to the regal dies was to distinguish moneyers of the same names coining together, or in succession, in the same mint during the period in which the dies in question were used for the current money. Corroboration of this was forthcoming in the fact that when, for a period, the custom was introduced of adding a second, in some cases a third name also, to that of the moneyer, probably to indicate his father or predecessors, the use of the symbols was discontinued, but once more revived in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

April 26th, 1916.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mrs. Suckling was elected a member.

The President announced that the Director, Major Carlyon-Britton, had left England for France on active service, and said that he was sure the best wishes of the members would be with him.

Presentations.

The Trustees of the British Museum.—*The Catalogue of English Coins: The Norman Kings*, two volumes, by Mr. George Cyril Brooke, B.A.

Mr. Edward Shepherd.—Thirteen volumes of early priced

catalogues of coin-sales dating from the first half of the eighteenth century.

The Deputy-Master of the Mint.—The Forty-fifth Annual Report, 1914.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Grant R. Francis. — Thirty-one varieties—Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson sixteen and Mr. W. B. Thorpe nine—of the Tower half-crowns of Charles I., all of which were described in detail in the paper read by Mr. Francis.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Charles I. : Tower half-crown, *Hawkins*, Type 3*b*, with plumed shield and mint-marks a crown on the obverse and a crown over the bell on the reverse.

Mr. William Dale.—Charles I. : Tower half-crown of *Hawkins*, Type 4*a*, with mint-mark triangle, recently found at Winchester—a round and unclipped coin.

Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton.—Charles I. : Worcester half-crown.

James VI. of Scotland : A “six-shilling piece,” or sixpence sterling, of the second issue after his accession to the English Throne. Obverse : mint-mark thistle, ·IACOBVS· D·G·MAG·BRIT·FRAN·&·HIB·REX· Reverse : mint-mark thistle, ·QVÆ·DEVVS·CONIVNXIT·NEMO·SEPARET·, the date 1612 over the shield.

Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton for Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. —James I. : A series of seven rose ryals of the second and third coinages, illustrating the mint-marks rose, escallop over rose, grapes over escallop, coronet over grapes, mullet over coronet, tower over mullet, on the obverse, and tower on the reverse, and, finally, book over tun.

Paper.

Mr. Grant R. Francis read a paper on “The Tower Half-crowns of Charles I.,” in which the variations and dies of each mint-mark were chronologically arranged. A series of one hundred and forty-seven

differing dies had been classified and described. Some hitherto unrecorded varieties were noticed, and particular attention was called to several recent discoveries by the President, the writer, and others. Amongst these, the use of one of Briot's puncheons for the general Tower issue, with the mint-mark a triangle over the anchor; the use of a puncheon, probably prepared for the Aberystwith issues, for the Tower dies, with the mint-mark a triangle; and a subsequently overstruck specimen showing the same Aberystwith peculiarities, but with the mint-mark a star over the triangle, were prominent features. The paper is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

May 24th, 1916.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. David Thomas Harris was elected a member.

Presentation.

Diwan Bahadur T. Desika Chari.—*South Indian Epigraph and Numismatics*, by the Donor.

Exhibitions.

Mr. H. A. Parsons.—The series of stycas referred to in his paper.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—The penny of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, the subject of his paper.

Charles I. shilling, by Briot, with the mint-mark triangle struck over the anchor.

Mr. Thomas Bearman.—Charles I. : Scottish "six-shilling piece," a pattern by Briot, and a pattern merk of 1636, also by Briot.

Paper.

Mr. H. A. Parsons read a paper on the coins of Eanbald, Archbishop of York at the dawn of the ninth century, in which—by a close examination, and comparison with the contemporary regal coinage, of the names of the moneyers, the types of the coins, certain characters in the lettering of the legends, and the assay of the metal of some of the stycas—he proffered new evidence in support of the attribution of the issue to the second archbishop of the name. In illustration of his arguments he exhibited stycas of Eanbald of all the four moneyers whose names have been preserved to us on the coinage, with analogous coins of the regal series to bear out his comparisons. The paper was printed in vol. xii.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited, and read a paper on, a silver penny of Henry, Prince of Scotland and Earl of Northumberland in the reign of Stephen. It was issued from the mint of Carlisle, and was a type of which only one other specimen had, with certainty, been attributed to the Earl. Two more examples of the type were known, but, so far as their poor preservation indicated their legends, they seemed to bear the name of his father, King David. The coin was a finely preserved penny, bearing for its obverse design an imitation of Stephen's contemporary type of a crowned bust with sceptre to right, but with the legend, contracted in the genitive case to **✠ H : EN CI : CON**, for *Henrici Comititis*. The design of the reverse was Scottish in character, being a plain cross fleury, with the legend **WILLEM ON CARDI C**. The paper was printed in vol. xii.

ORDINARY MEETING.

June 28th, 1916.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,
was elected to membership.

Exhibitions.

Mr. Andrew, for Mrs. Hansard, of Stanbridge Earls, Romsey.—William I. : One of the stray pennies mentioned in Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton's paper as being dispersed from the hoard exhibited, reading **†EDPI ON LIINDE**. It was brought to Winchester by one of the finders, and presented to the late Mr. Hansard by Major, then Lieutenant, Joss, of the Australian Army Service Corps when leaving for the Front.

Mr. Dale, on behalf of Miss Macnaghten, of Bitterne Park, Southampton.—A curious mass of small Turkish coins, estimated at 700, corroded together into the shape of the purse which probably had contained them. Found at Bitterne. The coins were of base silver, and Lord Grantley and Mr. L. Forrer had identified some of them as being of the year A.H. 1223.

The Rev. Edgar Rogers.—The fourpence, threepence, and twopence of the unusual date 1765, and probably exhibited together for the first time. The penny for that year, he remarked, is still unknown.

Paper.

A remarkable hoard of coins of William the Conqueror had been lent to the Society for exhibition at the meeting, and Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton contributed a short paper upon it, of which the following is a summary. The hoard comprised about 300 silver pennies, six cut halfpennies, and a few cut farthings, but the farthings, unfortunately, were thrown away by the finders as useless fragments. It was unearthed in the autumn of 1914 by soldiers, whilst digging a trench in the war area a few feet outside the present boundary of a churchyard, and was between 18 inches and 2 feet below the surface level. This site suggested that, like so many of the hoards of early money, it had originally been deposited within the then holy ground of the church to obtain the additional protection of sanctuary. The coins

had been placed in a receptacle which perished upon exposure, but as a few of the pennies were bent (owing, no doubt, to their being upon the outside of the bulk), it was probably a leather wallet. The most remarkable feature of the find was that the coins were as fresh, bright, and new in appearance as when they left the dies, and, in the words of the author, "the finest series of the money of this period ever exhibited since the Conqueror's time." They were of the issue now termed the "two-stars type," which, as proved by Major Carlyon-Britton in his *Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I.-II.*, was the fifth issue of William I., current about 1077-80. This type represented upon the obverse the king's bust, crowned and facing, with a star (a favourite badge of the Norman dynasty, commemorative of the comet that shone over the field of Hastings) on each side of the neck, with his name and title around, as **✠ P[=W]ILLEM REX AN**; and upon the reverse a cross *bottonée* over a quadrilateral ornament, surrounded by the legend disclosing the names of the moneyer and mint responsible for the issue of each particular coin, for there were then more than fifty mints in operation throughout the cities and towns of England. To the list of mints previously known of this issue the hoard added Chester, Guildford, Hythe, Maldon, and Rochester, and the names of twenty-three moneyers.

The paper was printed in vol. xii.

ORDINARY MEETING.

October 25th, 1916.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Miss Sedley Towler and the Rev. R. M. Serjeantson, M.A.,
F.S.A., were elected members.

Presentation.

Mr. William Allen.—A beautiful portrait plaque in silver designed by him to the memory of Joachim the violinist and executed by Miss Margaret Windser.

Exhibitions.

The President.—A series of farthings of the reign of Charles I. to illustrate the late Mr. Montagu's arrangement.

Mr. Rogers.—A similar series from his own and Fleet-Surgeon Weightman's cabinets, showing the new classification.

Mr. J. O. Manton.—A collection of the farthings, including one of the two examples yet known on which the heads of the sceptres divide the legend, the other being in Fleet-Surgeon Weightman's cabinet. Mr. Rogers believed that this variety was issued as a pattern.

Mr. W. S. Ogden.—An example of the farthing of James I. from roughly made dies and the king's name omitted. Weight, 9 grains.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—A profile shilling of Edward VI., dated M.DXLIX, with mint-mark T.C., ligulated.

A half-groat bearing the name and portrait of Henry VIII., with mint-mark small t, and a profile shilling of Edward VI., bearing the same mint-mark, for comparison.

In explanation of the above coins Mr. Walters said :

"The mint-mark on the shilling of Edward VI. is clearly T.C., ligulated, for Thomas Chamberlain, who succeeded Sir William Sharrington as master of the mint at Bristol upon the latter's disgrace. Mr. Symonds, in his 'English Coinages of Edward VI.,' vol. xi of the *Journal*, states that Thomas Chamberlain coined a small amount of silver of 6 ounces fine into shillings in May and June, 1549, at Bristol, and this is of that issue. A feature to be noticed is the large shield of arms with garniture as on the early shillings, with the INIMICOS legend, for I have not seen any other shilling with the TIMOR legend bearing it.

"Mr. Symonds writes that other shillings with

a small **t** as the mint-mark have been attributed to Bristol, but doubts the correctness of this. I think that I am now able to show that the correct attribution of these coins should be to Canterbury, because the half-groat which I now exhibit bears the name and portrait of Henry VIII, with the same mint-mark, and, no doubt, represents the initial of the surname of William Tilesworth, authorised by two indentures of March 27th, 1545, and April 1st, 1546, to coin at that mint. I am not aware of any other example of this type, and the shilling of Edward VI, which shows the same small **t**, is exhibited with it for comparison."

Mr. W. Machado Maish.—Henry VIII: Half-sovereign of Bristol bearing the mint-mark WS, ligulated, for Sir William Sharrington. Also a teston of the same mint and mint-mark, with a rose at the close of the obverse legend, and a rose between two crosses fleury after the word **CIVITAS**.

Charles II: A fourpence with the singular date 1699, but which Mr. Maish explained was probably due to the inversion of the punches for the 66 of 1666.

Paper.

A paper on "The Royal Rose Farthing-Tokens of the Reign of Charles I," by Fleet-Surgeon A. E. Weightman and the Rev. Edgar Rogers, was read by the latter. After an historical sketch to link the subject with the previous papers on the earlier series of the farthings contributed by Fleet-Surgeon Weightman to the Society's *Journal*,¹ it was argued that the late Mr. Montagu's order of classification of the tokens should be entirely reversed, and historical and numismatic reasons were presented for this conclusion. The "double-rose" type, which is very similar to the Maltravers "double-ring" farthing, must be placed at the beginning of the issue, and that bearing the crown

¹ Vols. iii and iv.

above the sceptres at its close ; and it was suggested that these were in the nature of "pieces of necessity" as small change in payments to the royal army. This classification was supported by a table of the so-called mint-marks, which, owing to the custom of ringing the changes of the dies, demonstrated the chronological order of issue.

ORDINARY AND ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS.

November 30th, 1916.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Presentations.

Miss Helen Farquhar.—*Silver Counters of the Seventeenth Century*, by the Donor.

Mr. R. Dalton.—The numbers issued during the year of *The Provincial Token Coinage of the Eighteenth Century*, by the Donor and Mr. Hamar.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Secretary read the report of the Council as follows :—

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT.

NOVEMBER 30TH, 1916.

The Council has the honour to present its Thirteenth Annual Report to the Members.

On November the 30th, 1915, the Society consisted of 18 Royal, 111 Honorary, and 401 Ordinary Members, the total being 430.

It is a matter for profound thankfulness that in these days of peril there has been no change in the List of our Royal Members.

There has, however, been one sad loss in that of our Honorary Members. Just as Wolfe sealed the future of Canada with his death at Quebec, as Nelson gave the freedom of the Seas and his life to Britain at Trafalgar, as Gordon sacrificed himself at Khartoum for the destinies of Egypt, so Lord Kitchener, when his life's greatest work was done, that in her hour of need had prepared the way for Britain's emergence as a supreme military power, met his tragic fate off our northern shores. Such men as these do not die.

Amongst our members the Council deeply regrets to report the decease of Mr. Richard Bartleet, Mr. Charles Pryer of New York, and Mr. Edwin Harris Thirlby, but when so many of our members are abroad upon Active Service in defence of their Country and the Great Cause, it may be that the names of some have passed unrecognised because of their official description in the National Roll of Honour.

The List of 16 resignations is below the average of past years, even in the halcyon days of peace ; but it is anticipated that some who have been called to the Colours may be unable to keep in touch with the Society during the coming year. Their membership, however, will be kept open for them upon their return to old associations.

It was not to be expected that the closing year would add many new names to our List, and consequently the Council offers its most cordial welcome to the seven Members who have joined the Society namely :—

Dr. R. T. Cassal.
Mr. David T. Harris.
The Public Library of New
South Wales.
The Literary and Philosophical
Society of Newcastle-upon-
Tyne.

The Rev. R. M. Serjeantson,
M.A., F.S.A.
Mrs. Suckling.
Miss Sedley Tower.

SUMMARY.

| | | <i>Royal.</i> | <i>Honorary.</i> | <i>Ordinary.</i> | <i>Total.</i> |
|---------------------|--------|---------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 30th November, 1915 | ... | 18 | 11 | 401 | 430 |
| Since elected... | | — | — | 7 | 7 |
| | | 18 | 11 | 408 | 437 |
| Deceased | | — | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Resigned | | — | — | 16 | 16 |
| 30th November 1916 | ... | 18 | 10 | 389 | 417 |

During the year our President, Colonel Morrieson, has been able to preside at every Meeting of the Society, and, under present conditions, the attendance of members has been very satisfactory, and an evidence of their continued interest in the Society's work. The quality of the papers contributed has been fully maintained; indeed, it may be said that one treatise is but the preface to the next in the constant stream of knowledge.

We have missed the presence of our Director, Major Carlyon-Britton, who, after spending the summer months with his Regiment in the trenches at the Front, now holds a military appointment in France. To him and to his partner, Mr. Lumb, we once more express our grateful thanks for the free use of the Society's suite of rooms at 43, Bedford Square.

Notwithstanding his duties as an Officer of the London Committee of the French Red Cross, our Librarian, Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, has been able to meet all the obligations of his office, and the Library continues to improve in utility and extent year by year.

Mr. Hutchins, the Honorary Treasurer, as was to be expected, has had a more arduous task than usual in the management of the

Society's financial affairs, but his accounts will be laid before you, and, it is trusted, will meet with your approval.

Our Editor and Secretary, Mr. Andrew, reports as follows:—
“Volume XI, the first volume of the second series, was due on the table at the last Anniversary Meeting and should have been issued to members in December. Owing to national claims upon the time and services of several of our contributors, their papers were not ready until the spring. Then my serious illness prohibited me from attending to any work for three months, and finally, when the Society's Indexer had nearly completed his part of the *Journal*, critical illness intervened in his case, with the result that the volume is only now being distributed. I sincerely regret this unavoidable delay.”

To Mr. W. Beresford Smith and the Rev. Edgar Rogers the thanks of the members are due for auditing the Society's Accounts, and to Mr. Rogers and Mr. Hyman for acting as Scrutators of the Ballot at the last Anniversary Meeting.

This is the third Annual Report made under War conditions, and although for a time our numbers may be slightly reduced, they will be restored; and, although our *Journal* may be late, its complement will be made good; for it is a matter for thankfulness and pride to us all that these critical times have abundantly proved the stability of the Society and its cohesion, as a test of the great future before it.

The report was unanimously adopted.

Prints of the audited Balance Sheet having been distributed amongst the members, Mr. Hutchins, as Honorary Treasurer, made his annual report on the financial position of the Society, which was adopted.

Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Hyman having been appointed Scrutators, the ballot for the election of Officers and Council for 1917 was taken, and they announced that all the members nominated by the Council had been elected, namely:—

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL—SESSION 1917.

President :—Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson, R.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents :—Major W. J. Freer, F.S.A. ; Lord Grantley, F.S.A. ; L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A. ; J. Sanford Saltus, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur ; Henry Symonds F.S.A. ; and F. A. Walters, F.S.A.

Director :—Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A.

Treasurer :—A. C. Hutchins, F.C.A.

Librarian :—R. C. Carlyon-Britton.

Secretary :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

Council :—Thomas Bearman ; William Dale, F.S.A. ; Miss H. Farquhar ; G. R. Francis ; Henry Garside ; Mellor Lumb ; W. S. Ogden, F.S.A. ; H. A. Parsons ; W. L. Pocock ; the Rev. Edgar Rogers, M.A. ; J. S. Shirley-Fox, R.B.A. ; W. Beresford Smith ; S. M. Spink ; Frederick Toplis ; and Fleet-Surgeon A. E. Weightman, F.S.A.

*Exhibition of Medallie Art in Masonic Jewels, Medals, and Tokens
prior to 1860.*

Colonel Morrieson read a paper on Masonic medals of the last decade of the eighteenth century, which will be printed in the Society's *Journal*, and exhibited the Masonic halfpenny token, *Atkins*, No. 264a.

Exhibited by Mr. W. J. Songhurst from the collection of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge :—

Seven engraved silver plates, or jewels, of Irish origin or influence, late eighteenth century, and one English, 1788 1801.

The Martin Folkes 1742 medal in bronze.

Medals of the Freemasons' Hall, London, of 1780, two specimens, and of 1869, and of the Freemasons' Hall, Bath, 1819.

Medals of the Prince of Wales and Duke of Clarence, 1802 ; and of the death of the Duke of Sussex, 1843, two varieties.

Masonic penny tokens, 1795 ; halfpenny tokens, 1790–5, of the "Wisdom, Strength and Beauty" type, twenty-one varieties ; and of the "Prince of Wales" and "Duke of York" types, two varieties.

The "East Grinstead halfpenny," 1795, and the Ale-house token for a shilling of Thomas Burcand, Bishopsgate, London.

The "C.W." token.

The "Nelsonic Crimson Oakes," 1808; the Charity jewel, instituted 1830; the Prince Masons' medal, Ireland, 1795; those of James Burnes, Bombay, 1843; the Rifle Match, Liège, 1869; the Union of the two Grand Lodges, Canada, 1858; and a Past Master's jewel, after 1750, in bronze, the reverse bearing the name and arms of the owner.

Mr. Andrew.—The "Three Grand Masters' Jewel," in gold and enamel, which was presented to certain Past Masters about 1780.

Jewels of a Knight Templar, early-Victorian.

Major Freer, for Mr. J. T. Thorp, F.R.Hist.Soc.—Masonic halfpenny, struck to commemorate the election of George, Prince of Wales, as Grand Master, November 24th, 1790.

The Masonic halfpenny of 1795.

The East Grinstead halfpenny, 1795.

The Martin Folkes, Rome, "5742," that is, the year 1742; and a large and interesting collection of Continental Masonic medals.

The British Numismatic Society.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1916.

| Dr. | Cr. |
|--|--|
| <i>Expenditure.</i> | <i>Income.</i> |
| £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| To printing and binding the 1915 <i>Journal</i> , including reprints, plates, blocks, and expenses of dis- tribution 330 10 2 | By subscriptions 368 11 0 |
| " printing and stationery 13 10 7 | " dividends and interest 26 5 0 |
| " postages 18 12 6 | " general purposes fund 48 2 4 |
| " expenses of Meetings 10 11 5 | |
| " reports of Meetings 4 13 0 | |
| " sundry expenses 2 0 8 | |
| " secretary's travelling expenses 52 10 0 | |
| " clerk to Council's fee 10 10 0 | |
| <u>£442 18 4</u> | <u>£442 18 4</u> |

W. BERESFORD SMITH, }
EDGAR ROGERS, M.A., }
Auditors.

LISTS OF MEMBERS

OF

The British Numismatic Society

PATRON: HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

ROYAL MEMBERS.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

In Alphabetical Order.

HIS MAJESTY ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN LOUISE OF DENMARK.
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.
HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII., KING OF NORWAY.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII., KING OF SPAIN.
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SPAIN.
HIS MAJESTY KING MANUEL II.
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

HONORARY MEMBERS, 1918.

In Order of Election.

1903. SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 61, Warwick Square, London, S.W. 1.
1905. THE COUNTESS OF YARBOROUGH, BARONESS FAUCONBERG, BARONESS CONYERS, Brocklesbury Park, Lincolnshire, and 17, Arlington Street, London, S.W. 1.
1905. THE MARQUIS DE SOVERAL, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., 6, Granville Place, Portman Square, London, W. 1.
1905. MONSIEUR PAUL CAMBON, G.C.V.O., D.C.L., LL.D., French Ambassador, Albert Gate House, London, S.W. 1.
1905. VERNON HORACE RENDALL, Esq., B.A.
1905. MONSIEUR GASTON CARLIN, Swiss Minister, 3, Portland Place, London, W. 1.
1911. ALFRED ANSCOMBE, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 30, Albany Road, London, N. 4.
1911. THE MARQUIS GUGLIELMO IMPERIALI, Italian Ambassador, 20, Grosvenor Square, London, W. 1.
1912. ADMIRAL THE MARQUESS OF MILFORD HAVEN, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.V.O. K.C.M.G., A.D.C., F.R.G.S., Kent House, East Cowes, Isle of Wight.
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MEMBERS.¹

*The sign * signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

1905. *à ABABRELTON, ROBERT, Esq., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S., Post Box, 322, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa ; 30, Killyon Road, Clapham Rise, London, S.W.
1904. ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian, Aberdeen, N.B.
1907. ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, P. J. Anderson, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Librarian, Aberdeen, N.B.
1914. ALLWORTHY, THOMAS, Esq., 127, King's Cross Road, London, W.C. 1.
1906. AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York.
1903. ANDREW, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., The Old House, Michelmersh, near Romsey, Hampshire.
1906. ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1915. ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, Edinburgh, Alexander O. Curle, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary.
1905. ARBOUIN, FASSETT ERNEST, Esq., F.R.G.S., 8, Rue de Pons, Cognac, Charente, France.
1904. ARMSTRONG, FRANK, Esq., 88 and 90, Deansgate, Manchester.
1903. ASHBY, JOHN, Esq., J.P., The Close, Staines, Middlesex.
1903. ASKWITH, SIR GEORGE R., K.C.B., M.A., K.C., 2, Pump Court, Temple, London, E.C. 4.
1903. ASQUITH, THE RIGHT HON. H. H., P.C., K.C., M.P., 20, Cavendish Square, W. 1.
1903. ATHILL, CHARLES HAROLD, Esq., M.V.O., F.S.A., Richmond Herald, College of Arms, London, E.C. 4.
1919. BAILEY, SAMUEL NORWOOD GRANT, Esq., B.A., LL.B., 9, Gray's Inn Square, W.C. 1.
1903. BAIN, R. DONALD, Esq., Aykleyheads, Durham.
1905. BAIRD, THE REV. DR. ANDREW B., 247, Colony Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
1903. BALDWIN, A. H., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, London, W.C. 2.
1903. BALDWIN, PERCY J. D., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, London, W.C. 2.
1910. BARBER, GEORGE WILLIAM, Esq., J.P., Park House, Englefield Green, Surrey.
1909. BARNARD, FRANCIS PIERREPONT, PROFESSOR, M.A., D.Litt. Oxon., F.S.A., Bilsby House, near Alford, Lincolnshire, Professor of Mediæval Archæology in the University of Liverpool.
1904. *BARNARD, ROBERT, Esq., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., c/o Messrs. Gibson and Weldon, 27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.

¹ This list is revised up to June 30, 1919.

1903. *BARNES, ALFRED W., Esq., 93, Fairlight Road, Hastings.
1907. BARRETT, SIDNEY EDWARD, Esq., B.A., M.B., F.Z.S., The Limes, Tillingham, near Southminster, Essex.
1904. BARTHOLOMEW, CHARLES WILLIAM, Esq., M.A., C.E., Blakesley Hall, near Towcester.
1903. BATES, JAMES, Esq., Arran Lodge, Holly Walk, Leamington Spa.
1903. BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., Esq., B.A., St. Margaret's, Malvern.
1904. BEARMAN, THOMAS, Esq., Melbourne House, Tudor Road, London, E. 9.
1903. BEAUMONT, EDWARD, Esq., M.A., 1, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C. 2.
1903. BEDFORD, DUKE OF, K.G., F.S.A., Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire.
1910. BELDEN, BAUMAN L., Esq., 847, Jersey Avenue, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
1910. BELFAST LIBRARY AND SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING KNOWLEDGE, F. J. P. Burgoyne, Esq., Librarian, Linen Hall Library, Donegal Square North, Belfast.
1909. BELFAST PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. H. Elliott, Esq., Chief Librarian, Belfast, Ireland.
1903. BELOE, E. M., Esq., F.S.A., Chase Lodge, King's Lynn.
1911. BERRY, JAMES, Esq., F.R.C.S., 21, Wimpole Street, London, W. 1.
1904. BIRCH, JOHN DE GRAY, Esq., 29, Connaught Road, Harlesden, London, N.W. 10.
1904. BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, John Shepherd, Esq., Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead.
1914. BIRKIN, LT-COLONEL R. LESLIE, D.S.O., J.P., Edale House, The Park, Nottingham.
1906. BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Reference Department, Walter Powell, Esq., Chief Librarian, Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1904. BLACKBURN FREE LIBRARY, MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY, THE, R. Ashton, Esq., Librarian and Curator.
1904. BODKIN, ARCHIBALD HENRY, Esq., Recorder of Dover, 5, Paper Buildings, Temple, London, E.C. 4.
1906. BOILEAU, MAJOR RAYMOND FREDERIC, J.P., 10th Royal Fusiliers, Ketteringham Park, Wymondham, Norfolk.
1907. BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, THE, C. H. Hunt, Esq., Librarian and Curator, Oriel Road, Bootle, Lancashire.
1904. BOUSFIELD, STANLEY, Esq., M.A., M.D., B.C., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 35, Prince's Square, London, W. 2.
1903. *BOWLES, COLONEL HENRY FERRYMAN, M.A., J.P., Forty Hall, Enfield, Middlesex.
1904. BOYLE, COLONEL GERALD EDMUND, 48, Queen's Gate Terrace, London, S.W. 7.
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1904. BRIDGMAN, FRANCIS GEORGE, Esq., 5, Duchess Street, Portland Place, London, W. 1.

1910. BRIGG, M. ALFRED, Esq., Carlinghow, Batley, Yorkshire.
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1910. BURSTAL, EDWARD K., Esq., 32, Cathcart Road, London, S.W. 10.
1903. BURTCHALL, G. D., Esq., M.A., LL.B., M.R.I.A., Athlone Pursuivant of Arms, 44, Morehampton Road, Dublin.
1911. BURTON, FRANK ERNEST, Esq., J.P., South Manor, Ruddington, Nottinghamshire.
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1911. CARLYON-BRITTON, RAYMOND C., Sub-lieutenant R.N.V.R., 43, Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1.
1906. CARTER, ERNEST CHRISTISON, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., Oriel Lodge, Cheltenham.
1906. CARTHEW, COLONEL RANULPHUS JOHN, J.P., Royal Field Artillery, Woodbridge Abbey, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
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1903. CHALMERS, J. H., Esq., Holcombe, Moreton Hampstead, South Devonshire.
1915. CHAPIN, MRS. WILLIAM V., Dunworth, Pomfret, Connecticut, U.S.A.
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Litt.D., LL.D., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited,
14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W. 2.
1909. CORNWALL, THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF, Truro, The Rev. W. Iago, B.A., and
George Penrose, Esq., Secretaries.
1918. CRAIG, W. L., Esq., B.C.E. (Melb.), Assoc.M.Inst.C.E., 4, Eaglesfield Street,
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1904. CRANE, ALBERT CHARLES, Esq., 11, Duckett Road, London, N. 4.
1915. CREE, JAMES EDWARD, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Tusculum, North Berwick, Haddington-
shire.
1903. *CRISP, FREDERICK A., Esq., F.S.A., Broadhurst, Godalming.
1904. CROUCH, JAMES LEONARD, Esq., F.S.I., Common Room, Gray's Inn, London,
W.C. 1.
1913. CROUCH, WILLIAM, Esq., Friarscroft, Aylesbury.
1903. CURSITER, J. W., Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall, N.B.
1909. DALE, WILLIAM, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., The Lawn, Archer's Road, Southampton.
1903. DALTON, RICHARD, Esq., Park House, Cotham Park, Bristol.
1903. DANIELS, JAMES HERBERT, Esq., 90, Church Street, Brighton.
1903. DAVIS, W. J., Esq., J.P., 8, Pakenham Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
1903. DEANE, THE HON. MR. JUSTICE H. BARGRAVE, Kt., Hilfield Park, Aldenham,
Hertfordshire.
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1904. DERBY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, W. H. Walton, Esq., F.L.A., Librarian,
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1910. *DEVONSHIRE, THE DUKE OF, Chatsworth, Derbyshire.
1903. DICKINSON, FRANK, Esq., 12, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1917. DIXON, MRS. FRANK E., Mottisfont Abbey, Romsey, Hampshire, and Stoke
Lodge, Hyde Park Gate, South Kensington, S.W. 7.

1911. DODGSON, AQUILA, Esq., Southleigh, Headingley, Leeds.
1908. DOYLE, ARTHUR JOHN, Esq., 19, West Lodge Avenue, London, W. 3.
1913. DRING, E. H., Esq. (Bernard Quaritch), 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.
1903. DRURY, G. THORN, Esq., B.A., K.C., 42, Roland Gardens, London, S.W. 7.
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1909. DUTERTRE-DELÉVIELEUSE, M. LE DOCTEUR AUGUSTE, R.E., 12, Rue Coquelin, Boulogne-sur-Mer, France.
1913. DUVEEN, GEOFFREY, Esq., 15, Stratton Street, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.

1904. ECKERSLEY, JAMES CARLTON, Esq., M.A., J.P., Carlton Mancr, Yeadon, Leeds.
1915. EDEN, TERENCE, Esq., King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment, 6, Cromwell Place, London, S.W. 7.
1904. EDINBURGH, THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, W. K. Dickson, Esq., Keeper, Edinburgh.
1903. EDINBURGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, Hew Morrison, Esq., LL.D., Principal Librarian.
1913. EDINBURGH, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, F. C. Nicholson, Esq., M.A., Librarian.
1904. EILOART, FREDERICK EDWARD, Esq., F.S.I., 40, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.
1909. ELD, THE REV. FRANCIS JOHN, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., Polstead Rectory Colchester.
1904. ELDER, THOMAS L., Esq., 32, East 23rd Street, New York.
1903. ELLIOTT, ERNEST A., Esq., 41, Chapel Park Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
1903. ESCHWEGE, MAURICE, Esq., 47, Lime Street, Liverpool.
1903. EVANS, CAPTAIN C. L., R.G.A. On Active Service.

1907. FAGAN, GENERAL C. S. FELTRIM, F.R.G.S., Feltrim, Exeter.
1903. FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, 11, Belgrave Square, London, S.W. 1.
1915. FAULKNER, W. J., Esq., Sutton House, Endon, Stoke-on-Trent.
1903. FENTIMAN, H., Esq., Murray House, Murray Road, Ealing Park, London, W. 5.
1906. FINLAY, LORD, P.C., G.C.M.G., 31, Phillimore Gardens, London, W. 10.
1903. FLETCHER, LIONEL L., Esq., Tupwood, Caterham, Surrey.
1903. FORRER, L., Esq., 11, Hammelton Road, Bromley, Kent.
1910. FOX, CHARLES MASSON, Esq., Woodlane Cottage, Falmouth.
1907. FOX, HARRY BERTRAM EARLE, Esq., Woolhampton, Berkshire.

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1903. FOX-DAVIES, A. C., Esq., 23, Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C. 2.
1907. FRANCE, LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE, Paris, c/o Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., 2, 4, 6, 8, Orange Street, Haymarket, London, S.W. 1.
1912. FRANCIS, GRANT RICHARDSON, Esq., Lion House, Cambridge Road, Teddington, Middlesex.
1907. FRANCKLIN, EDWARD, Esq., Gonalston Hall, Nottingham.
1912. FRASER, GORDON, Esq., Adyar, Madras, India.
1903. FREER, MAJOR WILLIAM J., V.D., D.L., F.S.A., The Stony-Gate, Leicester.
1906. GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, North Wales.
1903. GARSIDE, HENRY, Esq., 46, Queen's Road, Teddington, Middlesex.
1904. GERVIS, HENRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.S.A., J.P., 15, Royal Crescent, Bath.
1911. GIBSON, HENRY, Esq., The Hut, Wembley Park, London, N.W. 10.
1903. GLASGOW, THE MITCHELL LIBRARY, F. T. Barrett, Esq., Librarian, 21, Miller Street, Glasgow.
1903. GLENDINING, D., Esq., 7, Argyll Street, London, W. 1.
1903. GOODALL, ALEXANDER, Esq., 5, Maria Street, Kirkcaldy, N.B.
1903. GORHAM, THE REV. HENRY S., F.Z.S., Highcroft, Great Malvern.
1903. GRANTLEY, LORD, F.S.A., D.L., J.P., Wallop House, Stockbridge, Hampshire.
1914. GRAY, WILLIAM EDWARD, Esq., F.R.G.S., 2, Rutland Park, Sheffield.
1904. GREENSLADE, EDWARD ACAMAN, Esq., 200, Clarence Gate Gardens, London, N.W. 1.
1907. GRIMWOOD, ARTHUR, Esq., Sudbury, Suffolk.
1904. GUILDHALL LIBRARY, THE, Bernard Kettle, Esq., Librarian, London, E.C. 2.
1903. GWYER, JULIUS, Esq., 7, Argyll Street, London, W. 1.
1909. HAARER, JOHN W., Esq., 213, West Street, Joseph Street, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.
1909. HALE, JOHN ALBERT DEAKIN, Esq., A.C.A., 14, Finsbury Circus, London, E.C. 2.
1904. HALIFAX PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, Edward Green, Esq., Secretary and Librarian, Yorkshire.
1919. HALL, HENRY PLATT, Esq., F.R.N.S., Toravon, Werneth, Oldham.
1903. HAMER, S. H., Esq., Hon. Secretary The Halifax Antiquarian Society, Claremont Road, Halifax, Yorkshire.
1919. HAMILTON-SMITH, G., Esq., Northside, Leigh Woods, Bristol.
1904. HARBORD, PHILIP, Esq., J.P., Bulmer Tye, Sudbury, Suffolk.
1909. HARDING, HARRY WARFHAM, Esq., Thornbrake Elsworthy Road, London, N.W. 3.
1916. HARRIS, DAVID THOMAS, Esq., Lynwood, Boldmere, Erdington, Birmingham.

1905. HARRISON, BERNARD GUY, Esq., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., The Grove, Freshford, Somerset.
1909. HARVARD UNIVERSITY, LIBRARY OF, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., William C. Lane, Esq., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward G. Allen and Son, Limited, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
1917. HAWKINS, H., 57, Thirlmere Road, Darlington.
1909. HENDERSON, MAJOR JAMES SYDNEY, Trevone, Falmouth, Cornwall.
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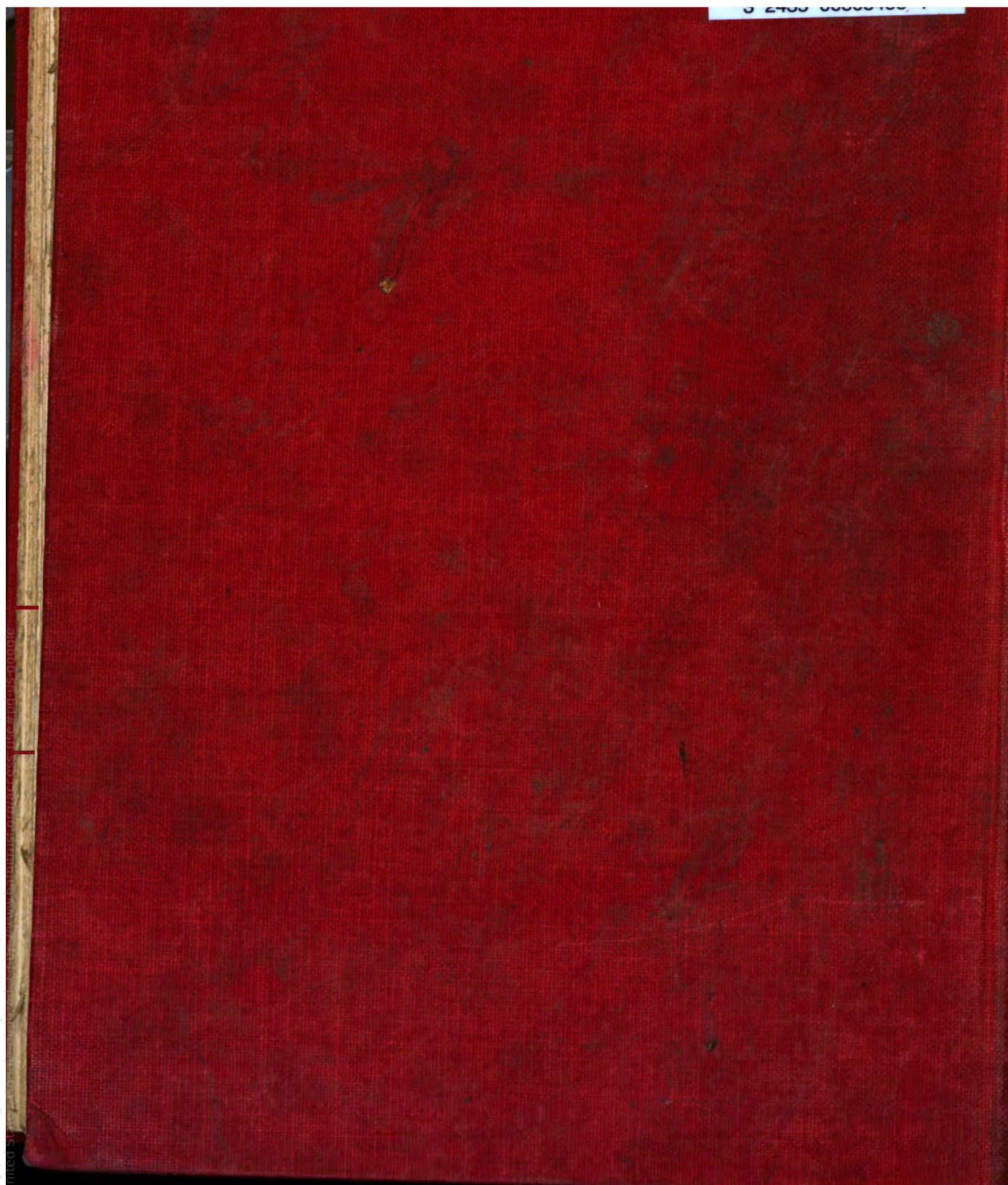
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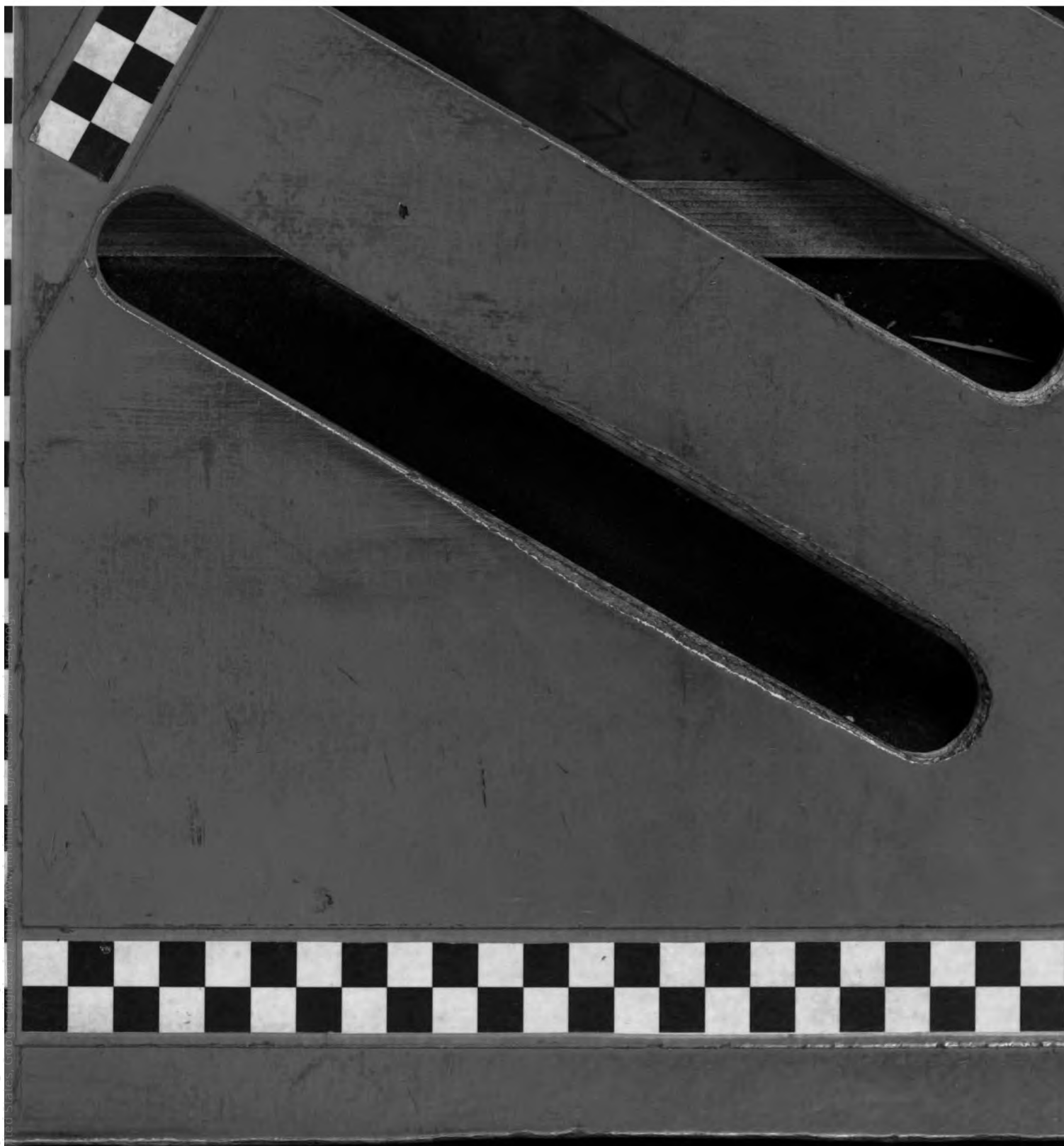
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